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FROM

Dr. F. H. Brown.

21 July, 1900



The Second Church in Boston

Committee of Publication.

STEPHEN M. CROSBY.

THOMAS VAN NESS.

FRANCIS H. BROWN.



THE MOTHER CHAIR



THE SECOND CHURCH
IN BOSTON

Commemorative Services

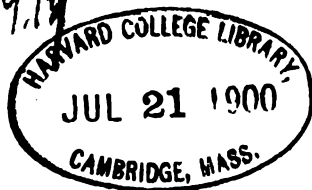
HELD ON THE COMPLETION OF

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS
SINCE ITS FOUNDATION

1649-1899

BOSTON
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1900

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BY THE STANDING COMMITTEE
OF
THE SECOND CHURCH IN BOSTON.

GEORGE M. ELLIS, PRINTER
BOSTON

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

IN order most fitly to commemorate the series of events which have marked the organization, the continuance, and the present life of THE SECOND CHURCH IN BOSTON, the Committee appointed by the Standing Committee have made a permanent record of the services held on the 19th. and 20th. of November, 1899. The place which this Church has occupied in the history of Congregationalism, in education, in literature, and in public affairs, the distinguished ministers who have occupied its pulpit, the vicissitudes through which it has passed, make its story most interesting. Upon the unanimous adoption of their plans by the Proprietors and members of the Society the Committee of Arrangements proceeded to carry them out in a manner which merited and received the cordial approval of all. The announcement of the programme at once called the attention not only of the immediate members of the Church, but of the many friends, former parishioners, and descendants of the old families, and, still more, of a numerous company who are ever interested in the ecclesiastical and local history of the city. The exercises were held in the meeting-house, and were attentively listened to, at every session, by crowds which taxed the auditorium to its utmost limit. For assistance in bringing the occasion to a successful issue the Committee of Arrangements were indebted to many persons who, by their public services, their advice, and in other ways, took important parts. More than all, perhaps, did they recognize the continued and devoted loyalty of every member of the Parish, both man and woman, for the heartiest co-operation in every way.

Before entering on the formal account of the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the

Church, it seems well briefly to outline its history and to recall the succession of its devoted ministers. In the same connection it will be interesting to study the evolution of the music employed in its service,—a history which applies equally to the musical forms of other Congregational churches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This gradual development was brought out in the Puritan service of Sunday evening, which is given elsewhere in this volume. For a faithful and intelligent search through the records, and the gathering of facts there and elsewhere, the committee are indebted to Miss Mary Phillips Webster, of Cambridge.

The beginning of the Church dates from 1649, only nineteen years after the first settlement of Boston, when Michael Powell and six others signed the Covenant,—a document remarkable for its absence of dogma and its emphasis of practical religion and true Christian spirit.

The first preacher was the Rev. Samuel Mather, who, however, soon left for England. After inviting several other ministers, without success, the Church asked Mr. Powell to become their teacher. He was not permitted to serve them in that capacity, the all-powerful civil authorities interfering because he was "illiterate as to academical education. He might have talents and a fine spirit," they argued, "and still not be competent to instruct the educated, explain the Scriptures, and convince the unbelieving. . . . If any exception should be made in the case of Mr. Powell, by reason of his peculiar gifts, it might establish a dangerous precedent." A remarkable letter addressed by Mr. Powell, to the "Governour and Magistrates" tells the story and at the same time reveals the character of the man who was most prominent in founding the Church and who, though not permitted to become its minister, was allowed to serve in the important position of Ruling Elder, where no doubt his "peculiar gifts" and gentle and noble spirit were a great influence in that little community whose members were striving "to walk together as a congregation and church of Christ, in all the ways of his worship, and of mutual love."

The first settled pastor of the church was Rev. John Mayo,

who served from 1655 to 1672,—a man of whom his colleague writes that he was “a blessing to his people, and that they two — pastor and teacher — lived together in love and peace for the space of eleven years.”

This colleague was Increase Mather, who succeeded Mr. Mayo as pastor. For more than sixty years this remarkable man,—“the most powerful individual force in America,” and his no less celebrated son, Cotton Mather, occupied the pulpit of The Second Church, and under such leaders the Society could but grow and prosper and become a mighty centre of influence in the community.

Very marked was the interest which both the Mathers took in musical reform. Church music had sadly degenerated during the one hundred and fifty years which had elapsed since the English Calvinists, returning from their exile in Switzerland, had brought with them the Genevan Psalter, and had introduced into London the habit of singing Psalms in unison. The England of Elizabeth was a land of singers. What wonder, then, that the English people enjoyed taking part in the worship, “singing together with one voice,” that they finally refused to tolerate the intricate anthems of the cathedral choirs, in which the people could not join, and that, when they got the upper hand, they pulled the organs to pieces and destroyed the part-books; but because they did these things it is a mistake to suppose that the early Puritans were utterly unmusical. Intricate church music was to them papistical. It must be done away with, like the detested “white surplices.” Outside the church they did not object to it as a means of recreation. Indeed, we find two such widely different men as John Milton and Oliver Cromwell alike in their love for this art.

When the Puritans came to America, they brought the habit of psalm-singing with them; and, if they had been content to use the words of Sternhold and Hopkins’s version, all might have been well. But instead of this they made a version of their own, which, though more literal, was almost unsingable. Worse still, they adopted the custom advocated by the Westminster Assembly of “lining” the Psalm; that is, of having

each line read by an officer of the church before it was sung,—a practice originally made necessary by the scarcity of books, but kept up long after there was a plentiful supply. These two causes alone were enough to ruin the effect of the music and make the art disliked by those who had never known anything better; but when we add that the tunes were handed down by oral tradition, that no two churches sang them in the same way, that each individual singer was at liberty to put in extra turns and quavers, that there was no pretence of keeping time, and that the notes were often so prolonged as to require a pause to take breath, it is hard to imagine a worse state of things, musically speaking. Reform was imperative, and it was started by the ministers. In 1718 Cotton Mather, the colleague and successor of his father, published a new translation of the Psalms, called the “*Psalterium Americanum*,” in which, by an ingenious arrangement of different types and words in brackets to be omitted or retained at pleasure, the Psalms could be adapted to tunes of different metre. Three years later Thomas Walter, pastor of the church in Roxbury and grandson of Increase Mather, published a singing-book, which was recommended by Increase and Cotton Mather, and many other ministers, and was the first attempt at better music. The tunes were copied from Playford, and were in three parts without words.

One of the rarest of the Cotton Mather tracts bears this title:—

“The Accomplished Singer. | Instructions | How the Piety
| of Singing | with a | True Devotion may be | obtained
and expressed; the Glor | ious God after an uncommon man-
ner glorified in it, and His | people Godified. | Intended for
the Assistance of all that would | sing Psalms with Grace in
their Hearts; | But more particularly to accompany the |
Laudable Endeavours of those who are | Learning to sing by
Rule. . . . *Boston: Printed by B Green for S Gerrish, | . . .*
1721. 16 mo, pp. (4), 24.”

The first singing-school was started about 1720, and singing by note was thus introduced into the Boston churches, Dr. Colman's society in Brattle Square probably being the first to employ the new method. This innovation, or rather revolution, was stoutly opposed by the advocates of "the usual way." Fiercely the battle of the singers raged,—the first of the many musical contests in Boston. The leading ministers arrayed themselves on the side of reform, many of them publishing "spirited discourses" on the subject. In 1723 appeared a tract entitled "Cases of Conscience about singing Psalms," in which, among other propositions for consideration, is the following: "Whether they who purposely sing a tune different from that which is appointed by the pastor or elder to be sung are not guilty of acting disorderly and of taking God's name in vain, also by disturbing the order of the sanctuary." This tract shows the importance attached to the question, and the rude and even childish pettishness by which the Puritans of that day sometimes manifested their individuality and independence.

Cotton Mather had the largest private library on the continent,—a fact which must have been appreciated by his colleague and successor, the Rev. Joshua Gee, who was a brilliant, scholarly man, and which may have suggested to him the plan of founding a Church Library for the use of the ministers. We are able to give the details of this scheme in his own words, copied from his Register Book.

Mr. Gee writes, "In a conversation with the late venerable Dr. Cotton Mather, sometime in the summer of the year MDCCXXVII., I proposed to him the forming a library for the Church under our Pastoral Care." He then gives in full a paper entitled "A Proposal for a Church Library," and after this the list of subscribers, headed by Dr. Mather, who, however, "died before this subscription was compleated."

The Library thus started survived even the trying days of the Revolution. In 1821, though many books had been lost, there remained 123 volumes, 50 of which were of small value. In 1827, just a hundred years from the time when the plan for the

library was first proposed, "at the request of Mr. Ware, who stated that efforts were making to build up a library for the Theological School at Cambridge 'to be deposited in the building recently erected,' the Church 'voted that the pastor be authorized to select such volumes as he may think proper from its Library, and make a donation of them to the Library of the Theological School, with the proviso that the minister of the Second Church shall always have free use of the library of the Theological School.'"

Little need be said of Mr. Gee's colleagues, the Rev. Samuel Mather and the Rev. Samuel Checkley, the latter of whom succeeded him as minister. Mr. Checkley was followed by Dr. John Lathrop, who served from 1768 to 1816, during which time the church passed through many and momentous changes. Dr. Lathrop was a firm patriot, whose sermons did much to strengthen the people in resisting oppression and in gaining for them the reputation, from a British point of view, of being "a nest of hornets." The Second Church was among the heaviest sufferers by the war. The earliest mention of their trials at this period is found in the following brief notice, copied from the list of deaths in volume vii. of the church records: "Mch 5, 1770, James Caldwell, shot by the inhumane soldiers." When the scattered congregation returned to the city after its evacuation by the British, they found their Meeting-House on North Square in ashes. In this crisis the New Brick society came to their aid. The New Brick Church, at the dedication of which Dr. Cotton Mather had said, "There is not in all the land a more beautiful house built for the worship of God than this," became their home, the two societies uniting permanently in 1779.

Following Dr. Lathrop came, in 1817, the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., whose ministry lasted till 1830. His name is the synonym for saintliness wherever known; and in him the cause of peace, of freedom, of temperance, of education, and of charity, found an earnest advocate and a diligent worker. Ralph Waldo Emerson followed Mr. Ware in 1829, and continued a little over three years,—a period of great intellectual and spiritual en-

joyment and comfort to the people. In 1833 the Rev. Chandler Robbins was ordained,— a man of the purest Christian character, of profound learning, a tender pastor, a respected member of the community, a learned and accurate historian, to whom, through his forty years of service, the Church was indebted for loyalty to its interests through many trying circumstances. The Rev. Robert Laird Collier was installed in 1876, and resigned in 1879. Then came the Rev. Edward A. Horton in 1880, followed by the Rev. Thomas Van Ness in 1893, the last two ministers being still alive.



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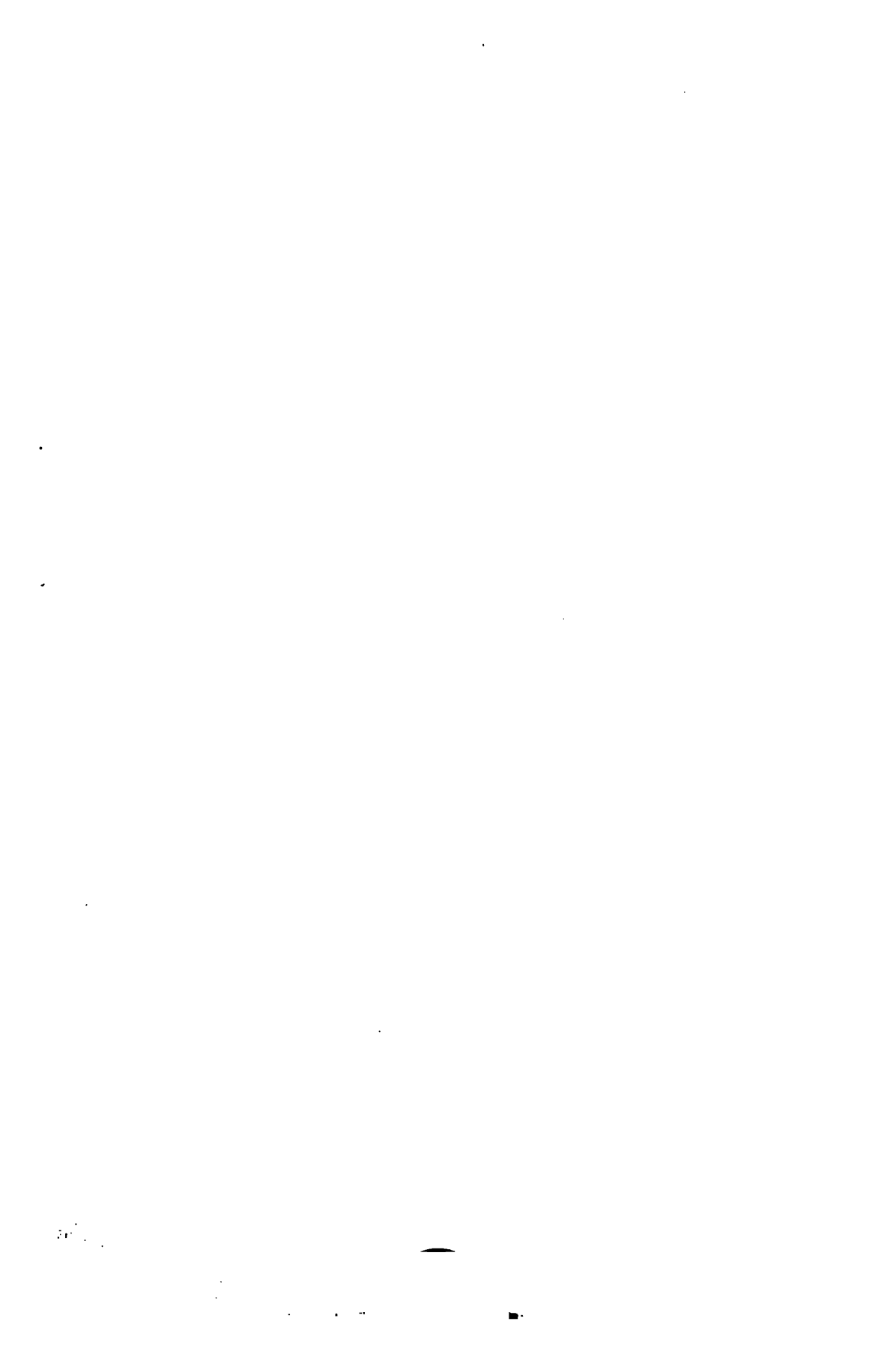
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PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.



PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.

AT the Annual Meeting of the Proprietors of THE SECOND CHURCH IN BOSTON, held in May, 1898, attention having been called to the fact that the next year would mark the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary from the foundation of the Church, the following action was taken:—

Voted, That a Committee of five be appointed by the Moderator of this meeting, with himself as one, to consider a plan and to fix the precise date for celebrating, in 1899, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of this Church, and to report the same at a future meeting of the Proprietors and members of the Society to be called by said Committee.

At the Annual Meeting of the Proprietors in April, 1899, the chairman announced the appointment of the following persons to constitute this committee: the Rev. Thomas Van Ness, William M. Bunting, James N. North, Francis H. Brown, and Stephen M. Crosby. The Committee reported that they had duly considered the matter, and had outlined a plan to submit to the Proprietors, which comprised a two days' celebration; and they fixed as a convenient date for the event Sunday and Monday, the nineteenth and twentieth days of November, 1899. This date was selected because the exact day of the organization of the Church is unknown. It has been determined that the Church came together some time in 1649, and that the first Meeting-House, erected in North Square,

was completed and in use in June, 1650. At a later day the Committee was increased by the appointment of Wilmon W. Blackmar, Charles H. Bond, and Lamont G. Burnham. Still later the Minister's Auxiliary Committee was asked to take a part by caring for the financial matters. This Committee was composed of William M. Bunting, *Chairman*, Franklin F. Raymond, *Secretary and Treasurer*; Edmund T. Pratt, Charles H. Bond, Ephraim B. Stillings, Charles Darrow, Elmer A. Lord, Daniel H. Lane, Ralph M. Kendall, and Frank W. Downer.

The following action was then taken : —

Voted, by the Proprietors, That it is desirable to hold a service on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of THE SECOND CHURCH IN BOSTON, substantially on the plan outlined and presented at this meeting, in commemoration of its foundation and continuance to the present day.

Voted, That the Committee who have had in charge the preliminary consideration of the subject of a celebration be authorized to make suitable arrangements and carry out such service as, in their judgment, may seem desirable.

Voted, That they be authorized to expend such sums as may be placed in their hands for the purpose, and that it be discretionary with them to enlarge their committee, and to appoint subsidiary committees, as they may deem best.

The programme, as recommended by the Committee, was also adopted by the Proprietors in the form in which it was finally carried out.

Several members of the Parish expressed the wish to unite with the Church the names of members of their households, who had passed away, by the gift of valuable works of art. These proposals were gratefully accepted, and the reception of such memorials was assigned to the morning hours of the first day.

With the same feelings of devotion the younger members of the parish wished to give the Church a memorial bust of Ralph Waldo Emerson, one of its early ministers ; and the reception of this gift was assigned to the afternoon.

For the evening a Puritan service was proposed, in which, together with appreciative words from the ministers of five of the earliest churches of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a musical service was to be held, which should mark the progress of the Art from the forms of the earliest days of the community down to those of the present.

The morning of the second day was to be occupied by the Second Church Branch of the Women's National Alliance in the discussion of the topic "What women have done since the Founding of The Second Church."

In the evening it was intended that addresses should be made by carefully chosen speakers on the subject "What The Second Church has done in this Community."

The following sub-committees were appointed :—

On Memorial Gifts and Decorations, Francis H. Brown, W. W. Blackmar; on Printing and the Press, W. M. Bunting, L. G. Burnham; on Reception, J. N. North, W. M. Bunting; on Correspondence and Invitations, S. M. Crosby, L. G. Burnham; on Music, Thomas Van Ness, J. N. North, C. H. Bond.

The musical part of the Commemorative Services was under the care of the conductor and musical director of the Church, Mr. H. G. Tucker, to whose skill and untiring devotion the Committee were indebted for the entire success of this portion of the celebration. He was ably seconded by the choir of the church: Mrs. Marian Titus, soprano, Mrs. Louise Bruce Brooks, contralto, Bruce W. Hobbs, tenor, Wirt B. Phillips, bass.

COMMEMORATIVE SERVICE.

COMMEMORATIVE SERVICE.

THE Morning Service on the 19th. of November was opened by a voluntary on the organ. The First Service in the Book of Worship was used at this morning exercise, and the following programme followed:—

Historical Sermon Rev. THOMAS VAN NESS.

Address Rev. EDWARD A. HORTON.

Address WILMON W. BLACKMAR.

Unveiling of Memorial Gifts

In memory of (a) GEORGE H. EAGER, (Window) "Ministers' Memorial."

(b) WILLIAM WILKINS WARREN, (Window) "Courage and Charity."

(c) JOHN W. LEIGHTON, (Mosaic) "Truth."

(d) FREDERIC W. LINCOLN, Corinthian Tablet.

Acceptance of Memorial Gifts STEPHEN M. CROSBY.

HISTORICAL SERMON.

BY THE REV. THOMAS VAN NESS.

"These all having obtained a good report."—HEB. xi. 39.

I CAN appreciate somewhat Paul's feelings when he sat down to write an historical letter to his kinsmen, which should so speak to them of their past that by the recollection of the glorious deed of Hebrew prophets, statesmen, and citizens their own faith would be increased and their own courage sustained. How select? What emphasize? What omit? A multitude of faces, forms, and events, crowd before his imagination, each asking, demanding, that it be marked off as of special importance. Palestine was a small country, the Jewish people, in comparison with their neighbors, a feeble folk; yet no Assyrian, Roman, or Persian historian had such a wealth of material from which to draw, so many inspiring personalities about whom to write.

Paul first lays down his definition of faith, "The evidence of things unseen." Then, step by step, he passes on to prove his statement, putting before the mind's eye such a stately procession as the world has never known. Abraham emerges from the past, then the patriarchs, Isaac and Jacob, then from Sinai's awful heights descends the great law-giver. Back of him is seen Joseph, the boy, and Joseph, the man, who, through rectitude and pu-

rity, is raised to the power of a Pharaoh; then Noah; then Joshua. So the record sweeps on, becoming more dramatic as it proceeds, until it begins to be impossible longer to single out individual instances. Then Paul in his thought gathers together all the past generations, saying of them, "Through faith they subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword; out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens. They had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings, of bonds and imprisonment. They were tempted, slain with the sword. Destitute, afflicted, tormented, they wandered in deserts and mountains, in dens and caves of the earth. All these obtained a good report, for they endured as seeing the invisible."

Almost in Paul's words I might sum up the generations that have lived and died in the past two hundred and fifty years, and who, by their faithfulness and loyalty, have made this Second Church in Boston what it is to-day. Back and beyond you this morning, you who are to be seen with the actual eye, are those nameless hundreds, those uncounted thousands, wives, husbands, fathers, mothers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, who are thronging forward for recognition; loved ones who have recently passed from earth; and not far from them older parishioners who saw and knew Sumner, Andrew, Webster, and Lafayette, and those, too, who were on speaking terms with Parker, Motley, Channing, Howe, and Longfellow. Then, back of them, those

whose garb and manner are strangely unfamiliar, those who helped make constitutional history, who because they had freemen's blood in their veins sympathized with and helped forward the struggle for liberty,—friends of Otis, of John Adams, of Paul Revere, men who pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to a loved cause; for they esteemed the reproach for liberty's sake greater riches than the pleasures to be enjoyed under a king's tyranny. Still back of them, the men and women who slowly, toilsomely, worked to build up the old town of Boston, who Sunday after Sunday, through sunshine and rain, through snow and storm, wended their way to the Old North Meeting House, and there in the stern lessons taught from the pulpit obtained a reason for their own lives and a warning against cowardice, sloth, and unfaithfulness.

Yes, faith is the evidence of things unseen; and it was because those of whom I speak had such faith that they endured as seeing the invisible. It was because they had such faith that they believed God's kingdom could be founded upon earth, and that they were the divinely chosen instruments to establish that kingdom.

Certain historians, who look at things purely from the outside, say that The Second Church was established because the seating capacity of the First Church had been outgrown: others affirm it was founded when the news reached Massachusetts of the execution of Charles I. and the setting up of Cromwell's commonwealth; but these are extrane-

ous reasons. They fall into place as coincidences, not as cause.

"Being called of God to enter into church fellowship together."

There you have the cause in the first covenant of this church. Michael Powell, James Ashwood, Christopher Gibson, and their four friends actually believed themselves "called of God" to do this thing as much as did ever Abraham when he went forth from Chaldea to establish the worship of God among the Canaanites.

"We here freely this day," so the covenant goes on to declare, "do avouch the Lord to be our God and ourselves to be his people," and "to cleave to him and to one another in him."

It is not compulsion, you see. No presbytery, synod, bishop, or pope, demands that a Second Church be started in the little colony. No! it is a layman's movement, a people's church, a democratic organization. The stamp once placed upon it by those seven Puritan founders, every year that follows only makes deeper, more indelible that impression. "We here freely this day do this thing." Those words fitly express what was true the Sunday after the church was founded; and the next Sunday and the next Sunday and every Sunday even unto this day.

Is it any wonder that a church so founded should always stand for political liberty, for intellectual liberty, for social fellowship, for religious democracy? "Everything produces after its kind," says the author of Genesis. It does not, therefore, take an

uncommon prophet to predict that such an organization, such a church, will be found on the side of learning over against superstition; will be found to uphold the spiritual interpretation of the Lord's Scriptures rather than the formal and literal interpretation; will be found on the side of the people rather than on the side of the king; will join forces with the patriots and not with the Tories; will uphold the cause of union and a united republic, and not the cause of disunion and secession; and through its sons and daughters, whether known or unknown, whether occupying the executive chair of this great city or speaking only from the centre of the domestic circle, whether instructing youth from a Harvard professor's desk or simply instructing the child at home, will always throw its influence on the side of freedom, progress, justice, and security for all.

I am not, therefore, surprised, as I turn one by one the pages of the history of The Second Church, to read what I there find. I am not surprised to learn that as early as 1774 Lathrop, from this pulpit, said, "Americans, rather than submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any nation in the world, would spill their best blood"; nor does it seem strange that the British general, in speaking of The Second Church, should call it "a nest of traitors." I should have been much more surprised if I had not so learned, or if I had read that the pastor of The Second Church was given a vote of thanks by the British ministry because of his subserviency and the cowardly acquiescence of his

flock in all the unjust measures of Lord North. I should have been disappointed and chagrined if that layman whose memory we are soon about to honor had flinched or wavered in the right course when the destinies of Boston hung upon his executive action in those dark days of 1863 and 1864.

No; now and again there has been an arrest of movement, a hardening of form and tradition, a something almost like a stultification of that original Second Church covenant; but, whenever such has been the case, there have arisen some laymen or some coterie of the members, or some minister, like him whom we shall recall and honor this afternoon, who by a brave word against creed or by a courageous sermon against the tyranny of tradition has brought the Second Church back to its rightful position in the path of progress.

It is the spirit, the life force of a church about which we are anxious to know, not the particular forms that spirit has taken on. It is for that reason I have so far said nothing of the outward and visible sign of the church as a structure, as a building. Let me now say, merely as a matter of record, that the first meeting-house was at the head of North Square. It was built of wood and completed in 1650. It remained in continuous use until the fire of 1676 destroyed it. Then, with commendable zeal on the part of the people, a new building was erected; and this second building was the one destroyed by the British in 1775.

After the evacuation of Boston, when the members of The Second Church returned to their homes,

they found in the place of their loved sanctuary a heap of ruins. In their disappointment and distress they were invited to worship with the Society of the New Brick on Hanover Street. The New Brick Society was an offshoot through the New North of The Second Church. In a sense, therefore, it was a union of parts. Dr. Lathrop assumed charge of the reunited organization in 1779, continuing in the ministry almost exactly fifty years. He died January 14, 1816, deservedly beloved and honored.

The following year Henry Ware, Junior, was installed as pastor. Perhaps his best known work for the community is his temperance work. In an age when drinking was a universal habit, it needed moral courage to stand out so boldly, and champion an unpopular cause. How new and startling were his words on this subject may be judged from the fact that his "Discourse on Temperance," put on sale in this country, had a most extensive circulation; and the twelfth thousand was prepared to meet the demands in London. There are persons still living who remember the funeral services at Harvard University held over the body of Mr. Ware in 1843. Some time in 1829 the College had elected him to the chair of pulpit eloquence and pastoral care, though he did not enter at once upon his professional duties, but spent the best part of a year travelling through Europe, giving the care of his pulpit into the hands of Emerson, who in March of 1829 had been installed as Mr Ware's colleague.

Although the ministry of Ralph Waldo Emerson did not cover the full space of four years, yet the time was long enough for the people to discover his clear discernment of truth, subtlety of reasoning, and candor of speech, which in after life gave him world-wide fame. It was under the Rev. Chandler Robbins, Mr. Emerson's successor, that the resolution was formed to erect a new church edifice on the old site.

While the work of rebuilding was in progress, the society availed itself of an invitation to worship under the roof of the Old South. In courteous recognition of the hospitality extended to it at the time The Second Church presented to the Old South a silver cup, which appears upon its communion table, and which bears this inscription: —

THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH,
IN MEMORY OF HER
CHRISTIAN HOSPITALITY
TO THE
SECOND CHURCH,
1844.

The new church building was completed and dedicated in 1845. There are many still living who remember the services of dedication,—remember, too, the sad, the disheartening years that follow.

It will not do for us to judge those times, to say that a grave mistake was made in erecting so expensive a building in a part of the city from which The Second Church families were steadily moving.



I do not know. I only know the outcome. In 1849 the church had to be sold to another religious society; and its members were forced to find a new home in the Freeman Place Chapel, which stands to-day in the rear of Hotel Bellevue on Beacon Street. In 1854, by a happy union with the Church of the Saviour, the able and beloved minister of The Second Church found himself once more the pastor of a strong and united band of worshippers; and for something like eighteen years the Rev. Chandler Robbins faithfully served as minister in the Bedford Street building. Then once again came the need of change. The Bedford Street Church was carefully taken down, its stones brought here to Copley Square, and the present building begun. As near as two buildings can be one, it may be said that this structure is the Bedford Street Church; for the very stained glass windows, the pews, the pulpit, even the organ, and much of the interior furnishings in this church on the dedication day, September 17, 1874, were those of the former church edifice.

And now, if we desire to take a typical period, an action, a form, or symbol which shall best epitomize the spirit continuously animating this Second Church, what shall be selected? What better than an event which in itself shows supremely the love of liberty in the people's hearts and at the same time the moral courage of their minister? What more comprehensive than that moment when the independence of the little colony weighs in the balance over against the desire of a king? Here are

the royal commissioners, backed up by military force, demanding, in the name of Charles II., the surrender of the charter: here, on the other hand, are the deputies to the General Court, about to be instructed as to their vote. What is to be the outcome? The minister of the Second Church, the Rev. Increase Mather, pushes his way to the crowded Town Hall, and makes a speech which electrifies all who hear it. "I hope," he says, "there is not a free man in Boston that can be guilty of such a thing. We shall sin against the God of heaven if we do this thing."

When Mather sat down, and the vote of the meeting was taken, it was unanimous against submitting to the king.

When I first came to Boston some seven years ago, a quiet, cultured gentleman, a member of our Standing Committee, called my attention particularly to the work of the Mathers, Increase and Cotton. "It was a magnificent epoch in our history," he said, "and some time or other a commemorative inscription or tablet should bear witness to what father and son did for Massachusetts and for The Second Church." In our further talks about the Mathers he made not only their characters better known and appreciated by me, but unconsciously his own as well. Would that he were here now to look upon this window, which so fitly carries out his thought and with such dignity and beauty teaches the lesson of moral courage and fidelity to civic duty!

When Paul sat down to write that eleventh

chapter of Hebrews, the furthest thing from his mind was the idea of self-glorification or personal fame. In him there was burning a desire to make better known to his kindred the great and good of the past, through whom the Lord had wrought great glory. Yet such is the law of virtue that while he, who will glorify himself, shall be forgotten, yet he who for righteousness' sake is willing to be debased and held in small esteem shall live in men's hearts forever and ever. Therefore it is that, try as Paul will, the eleventh chapter of Hebrews commemorates not Barak or Samson or Jephthah or any of the others whom the apostle sought to wrest from oblivion, but commemorates Paul himself. So, too, though the name be hidden in an obscure line, though the blaze of sunshine fall on the face of Increase Mather, though in strong, bold letters the list of ministers be written so that all may read, yet, nevertheless, the law of virtue cannot thus be evaded; and he who rightly and fitly is brought to remembrance by this window is he who so unselfishly and modestly labored to bring others to our mind—none other than our loved, our revered friend, George H. Eager.

"Though a good life hath but few days, yet a good name endureth forever." So it is written in the very nature of things.

Mother, daughter, you who through your devotion have made this window to the memory of the ministers a reality, believe me, it is like a palimpsest of old, which bears upon its surface not only the message in view, but as well the message of a sim-

ple, lofty life, quietly and honorably lived, and leaving to you as the most priceless heritage a name kept forever unspotted from the world.

Seeing we are compassed about with such a cloud of witnesses, let us run with patience the race that is set before us. And let us not be weary in well-doing; for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not, until we all come to the unity of faith, unto the perfect man, unto the measure of the fulness of the stature of Christ.

ADDRESS.

BY THE REV. EDWARD A. HORTON.

A REASONABLE question may arise in our minds. The Second Church in Boston is commemorating to-day its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. Back at the beginning stands the serious-faced figure of the Puritan. Before he left England, he and his allies assailed the churches and broke the frescoed windows. In the wrath of the white heat of his reforming spirit he smote for God, for progress, for man, according to his light and with the heavy accent of his moral conviction. Do we wisely to-day establish memorials somewhat of the character that were destroyed when The Second Church was founded? Ay, truly; for the great trait in the Puritans was the possibility of growth. I believe that the Puritan of two hundred and fifty years ago would be glad to witness the scene of





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THE MINISTER'S WINDOW

to-day. This is our way now of ennobling and lifting higher the benefits and truths of organized religion. To the Puritan in his time destruction, deprivation, and concentrating one's gaze upon the essentials of religious faith and doctrine seemed the great duty. Were he living now, his method of religious progress would be enrichment and beauty.

It is a personal privilege and responsibility as well as a public duty to make mention here to-day of two gifts to this ancient society. When I came to Boston in 1880, wondering what the future had in store for me, so bold as to assay that which had been planned for me, my heart was strengthened and my mind guided greatly by valorous men who pledged themselves generously to stand by their chosen leader. The two tributes which have been offered this morning find sympathetic echo in my soul. I see George H. Eager here to-day. I feel the tender influence of his gentle yet firm character: he was patient and wise. I behold the familiar presence of Mr. Lincoln,—sagacious, loyal, public-spirited,—a man knowing clearly that, when you have summed up all the glories of modern civilization and have omitted the religious element, you have left a fatal defect. To all this tribute my mind gives hearty response.

And now we pay attention, loving and true, to the memories of two more loyal sons of The Second Church.

Upon my right is a piece of art,—the flower of consummate art and deathless love. The figure of Saint Martin may not represent to you—that is,

to most of you—a familiar figure. Born in the fourth century near the Danube, his parents were, as we term them, ignorant heathen. But, early, his soul responded to the missionary call. He was converted; and, from that pledge of allegiance to the Christ and the gospel so early given, he ran a bright and victorious career, far outstripping his father so famous in martial renown.

The scene represented in this window is that of an actual event which has come down the centuries as a part of true history. A youth went to Saint Martin poor and forlorn, naked and in need. He listened to the tale: he was moved to sympathy; and, taking his sword, he cut in two his mantle, and gave the youth one-half. This is the picture as it appears. Yet I wish to recall (and let the fact shine out henceforth and forever from the window to those who may hereafter see it) that our man of valor was a soul of breadth. He became a bishop of France, and never feared to accept his responsibilities. When heretics were pursued and burned, he went to the other bishops, and begged that these offenders might be given to him. He hoped in his truly Catholic and Christian keeping he might help them, and by gently reproving them of their errors win them to the fold. His request was denied. The heretics were killed by the sword and fagot. I like to think how that act of Saint Martin redounds, not simply to his memory,—to his glory, but it is the type of broad, inclusive souls from century to century.

The other figure in this particular window





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THE WARREN WINDOW

emerges through the mist of uncertainty,—Dorcas,—a name that embodies to us in this century the substance of good will, charity, and kindliness. The affluent, loving helpfulness of the Dorcas societies has gone out through the land.

All women have been kindled by that little record in acts of the woman named Dorcas, whose memories brought tears to her associates. That passage has kindled many a candle to cast its beams of compassion round the world. Dorcas, the example of charity, of loving heart, of sympathetic atmosphere, of hand that does not dole out benefactions, but clasps the object of attention with a thrill of sisterly recognition,—Dorcas is the second figure.

Now what significance has this window with reference to him whom we to-day remember, the source, the incentive, the motive, of this gift,—William Wilkins Warren? Much, very much.

Mr. Warren has not been from us so long but that many in these pews this morning have felt the throb of joy as they recall the friendship they had for him. William Wilkins Warren was a man with special privileges. The good Lord put a scope of opportunity about him, and he recognized it. He knew he was a steward; and philanthropy unloosed his purse, broadened his heart, led him to generous plans. But that window does not simply mean courage and charity. A brute can be courageous. Saint Martin had enthusiasm for humanity, a consecrated purpose. Mr. Warren took unto himself these ideas and

tendencies, and embodied them in his life. For that reason we place a memorial here, as something not only betokening love, but quality of judgment.

I need not recall, in a presence like this, the characteristics which made Mr. Warren the source of true eulogy when he passed away. He was a lover of those refinements of life which we call civilization. Across this square, at the Art Museum, there is placed that gift from him which will enable the walls, for a long time to come, to bear testimony to canvas blossoming into beauty and stones setting forth incarnate life. I believe, if he could look down, he would rejoice at a testimonial like this. Did I say Saint Martin was conspicuously broad and inclusive? So was our friend. He loved to see the good in other churches. He fellowshiped with men and women who had high aims and motives, and allowed no mental differences and doctrinal divergences to interfere with his sense of brotherhood and large fellowship.

The flag of our country kindled in him responsive loyalty and plaudits. He had traversed this earth along many pathways, familiar and unfamiliar; but amid all this variety of experience he never became dulled to home appreciations. He was compact to the last in honor to his native land and firm in his confidence as to its future. He maintained respect for the ordinary, typical citizen, and declared adhesion to the ideals of this republic. Back from these wanderings and observances he came to the ballot box of the people, the civic

kings, back to the circles of scholarship, without any superciliousness or affected superiority. Nay, with a heart full of love, genuine love, of the American life, the American spirit, and the American opportunities, which are being worked up constantly into higher types.

He was, finally, religious: he embodied Christianity in his daily life. He listened to the Sermon on the Mount. He believed in organized religion and the support of churches. A more faithful parishioner I never had. The stream of his daily testimony was full of the richness which comforts the minister and steadies him for the contest in the many vicissitudes of life.

Let that window, in all its beauty, stand not only for the figures, historic and religious, so finely portrayed there, but because we seem to see within the light of them, absorbing their radiance and giving it out as he did in his life, our beloved William Wilkins Warren,—not dead, for he yet speaketh.

After the singing of the anthem, "My Soul doth magnify," and an organ postlude, during which the mosaic tablet behind the pulpit was unveiled, Mr. Horton continued:—

You have all, friends, had a brief glimpse, and seen the beauty and penetrated somewhat the significance of this memorial tablet in mosaic above the pulpit. It represents Truth. But truth comes to us in different aspects, and the successful artist has recognized that fact. Here is

Truth, with the key: science understands that interpretation. The theologian catches the meaning issuing from that symbol,—to probe, to knock at doors that seem solid, to soar upward to the heights of the sky or downward into the depths of the geologic world. Science has unlocked many a door, and that has come about because in man God has planted the irrepressible and onward-urging love of truth.

There is a sword, too, which in Scripture hath somewhat been symbolized by Saint Paul,—the sword of the spirit; not the cleaver and hewer of the battlefield, but the sword of an indomitable purpose, which in youth responds to a call from the high heavens, is determined to make character, help lift up the world, and keep an untarnished record of ideal loyalty. The sword represents the practical embodiment of truth in laws, institutions, character, in whatsoever perpetuates itself generation after generation, though the thinker, the scholar, the scientist, the theologian, come and go.

Then there is the flaming emblem, the torch. That is significant of truth's illuminating power. What is it that we should fear most in this world? Ignorance, darkness, superstition! Truth is the gas-jet in the bank at night, more potent than many policemen. The torch of truth is handed from generation to generation, enlightening religion, politics, and literature. Let the spirit indicated sustain this pulpit in finding and translating eternal life, appealing to all noble springs and high motives. That should be the universality of a pulpit like this, over which our memorial is placed.



Photograph 1894 by Tiffany, Henshaw & Company

TRUTH

In memory of whom is the tablet placed here? In remembrance of my friend and yours,— my loyal, sturdy parishioner, John W. Leighton. It is very fitting that a tablet of this significance should be placed to his memory. If there was one thing he liked, it was daylight, clearness, frankness, outspoken sentiment. He preferred substance to form; action rather than profession. The love of truth that leads to many manifestations sometimes savors of impetuosity and rashness, of things not always altogether agreeable. I would like to find a reformer, for instance, that you would call a courtier in the parlor or banquet hall. What the world needs is nuggets of gold, which can be made up into ordinary usage, into things which are available. The love of truth gives strength,— sometimes rugged, granite power; but it is strength, it is never weakness. Men may like what I say or they may not like it. They may fancy the utterances of the outspoken man or not: but there is one thing they can never say of the man who keeps true to the conviction of his mind: they cannot assert that he is mean, that he is equivocal, that he manages men with hypocrisy. I would rather have that character of mind than the ability of those who deftly thread the devious intricacies of insincere diplomacy.

Mr. Leighton was independent, self-reliant. He was honest. He had the treasure-house of integrity: men could rely on his word. And, as he passes away, we think of the essential man. That is the tribute which I know he would crave, simply

that he was honest, trusty, and true. I cannot conceive of my friend Leighton caring for a tribute of this kind, simply as a formal and ecclesiastical matter. I knew him thoroughly, and I am disposed to speak right to the mark; but I do believe that it would rejoice his soul, could he see this gathering and this tablet, and realize that such a typical representation of truth, sincerity, earnestness, genuineness, was placed in the church where he loved to attend,—as his friend Warren did,—anxious for any message that would quicken to true life; no one more appreciative of the direct utterance of man to man. He believed in everything that might build up the character, and rejoiced in the prosperity of the church. He gave his money, his time, his advice, for the welfare of this time-honored society.

And now, turning back to the memorial window, it is my precious privilege to speak through old friendship, and to say that this window is given by the wife of Mr. Warren. She does not need any visible presentation to remind her of the more than fifty years of happy life they had together; but she shares his spirit, and they together, as it were, set this beautiful significant work of art in the walls of The Second Church, for the good of youth, for the help of pure worship, and for the hallowing of these sacred courts.

This mosaic tablet is given by the wife and daughter of Mr. Leighton, in the same grand, loyal spirit to the family and to the church. They have all done this, not from any personal pride or satis-

faction, but that here, as congregations come and go, this emblem may help the preacher carry his message to the people, enrich and round out the spirit of devotion; appealing, amid service and sermon, to deep things, and enforcing by rich symbolic loveliness the truths of religion.

So may these symbols quicken all that is good and noble for centuries within the courts of The Second Church in Boston.

ADDRESS.

BY WILMON W. BLACKMAR.

AS we assemble here at the close of this the nineteenth century to celebrate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of this church, and look back through the long vista of years, recalling with pride and thankfulness the names of the illustrious laymen who have been connected with it, we must in justice and in truth place prominently in the foremost rank of these the name of Frederic Walker Lincoln.

No wonder he was patriotic, public-spirited, and devoted to all good causes tending to elevate and benefit his fellow-men; for in his veins ran the blood of those glorious men who carved from a mighty wilderness the great republic which, as the peer of any nation in the world, is our proud inheritance to-day.

With Abraham Lincoln, our martyred President,

he traced his lineage to the Lincolns who settled in Hingham about 1637. His grandfather, Captain Amos Lincoln, when a youth of nineteen, took sides with the colonists against the aggressions of the mother country, and was one of the famous Boston Tea Party which emptied the cargoes of the offending ships into the harbor; and, standing firmly by the consequences resulting from this and other defiant acts of the inhabitants of rebellious Boston, he enlisted in the patriot army, and on the battlefield of Bunker Hill and on many another field made sacred by the blood of free men he fought for independence. After this was won, he returned to the pursuits of peace, and, as one of the leading mechanics of the city, helped to build yonder State House.

Captain Lincoln married the daughter of Paul Revere, and therefore our late associate was the great-grandson of that famous patriot.

True to his glorious lineage, he gave himself freely and unselfishly with a rare public-spirited devotion to so many good causes and institutions in his State and city that a mere recital by me of the names and descriptions of those with which he was identified and the offices he held during his long and most active life would consume most of the time allowed me to-day.

I need not say in this presence, to you who knew him so well and loved him so tenderly, how honest, patriotic, unselfish, devoted, and capable he was. His long and honorable service in political, financial, charitable, and religious organizations is

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a guaranty that he possessed these sterling qualities in the highest degree.

Whether as mayor, president of a bank organized to protect the savings of the wage-earners, or overseer of the city's poor, he did his varied duties thoroughly and well. A manly man, with the delicacy and tenderness of a gentle woman, he administered charity to the worthy poor; but with a hand of iron, when mayor of Boston, he crushed out the draft riot which threatened destruction and disgrace to his beloved city. For this patriotic action he was made a member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, which organization, with its colors draped, appeared as mourners at his bier.

We remember with pride and satisfaction his great service to the State in her halls of legislation, on her important boards and commissions; his devotion to our city during his unprecedented seven full years of service as its mayor; and his honorable connection with the great financial and charitable institutions with which his name has, from his early manhood, been so prominently associated.

But here in the church he loved, and as a member and officer served so faithfully, we remember him with a peculiar sense of gratitude, love, and admiration. Baptized in and buried from this church; as child and man, for more than eighty years closely identified with its every interest; for thirty years superintendent of its Sunday-school; for forty-four years a member of its Standing Committee and its faithful treasurer; in prosperity and adversity

always the same faithful, hopeful, patient guardian of its interests;—pastors came and went; death and other causes radically and often changed the congregations,—but, ever faithful at his post, during all these years stood Frederic Walker Lincoln; and to him more than to any other one man is due the fact that the dear old Second Church in Boston has survived to celebrate this its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary.

In the name and at the request of his wife and children I have the honor to present this memorial of Frederic Walker Lincoln to The Second Church in Boston. And, as the signal lights shone forth from the Old North Church to start his great grandsire, Paul Revere, on his perilous ride to warn of danger and encourage to heroic action his fellow-countrymen, so may this tablet with its modest but complete recital of a life well spent in service to this city and State be always an ever-living signal light in this church, to start our youth upon and encourage them to follow those glorious paths which lead to the freeing, uplifting, and helping of their fellow-men.

THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE MEMO- RIAL GIFTS.

BY STEPHEN M. CROSBY.

AND now, friends, there remains only for me, as the senior officer of the Church, and in the same spirit of love and tenderness, and with the most hearty concurrence in all that has been said in memory of our departed friends, to accept in the name and behalf of The Second Church in Boston these beautiful gifts. They become henceforth a part of the heritage of this church, a part of its treasures. Like the history of its past and like the story of these lives, which henceforth becomes a part of its history, they will be a portion of what is to be bequeathed to those who in long succession, we hope, are to follow and worship here.

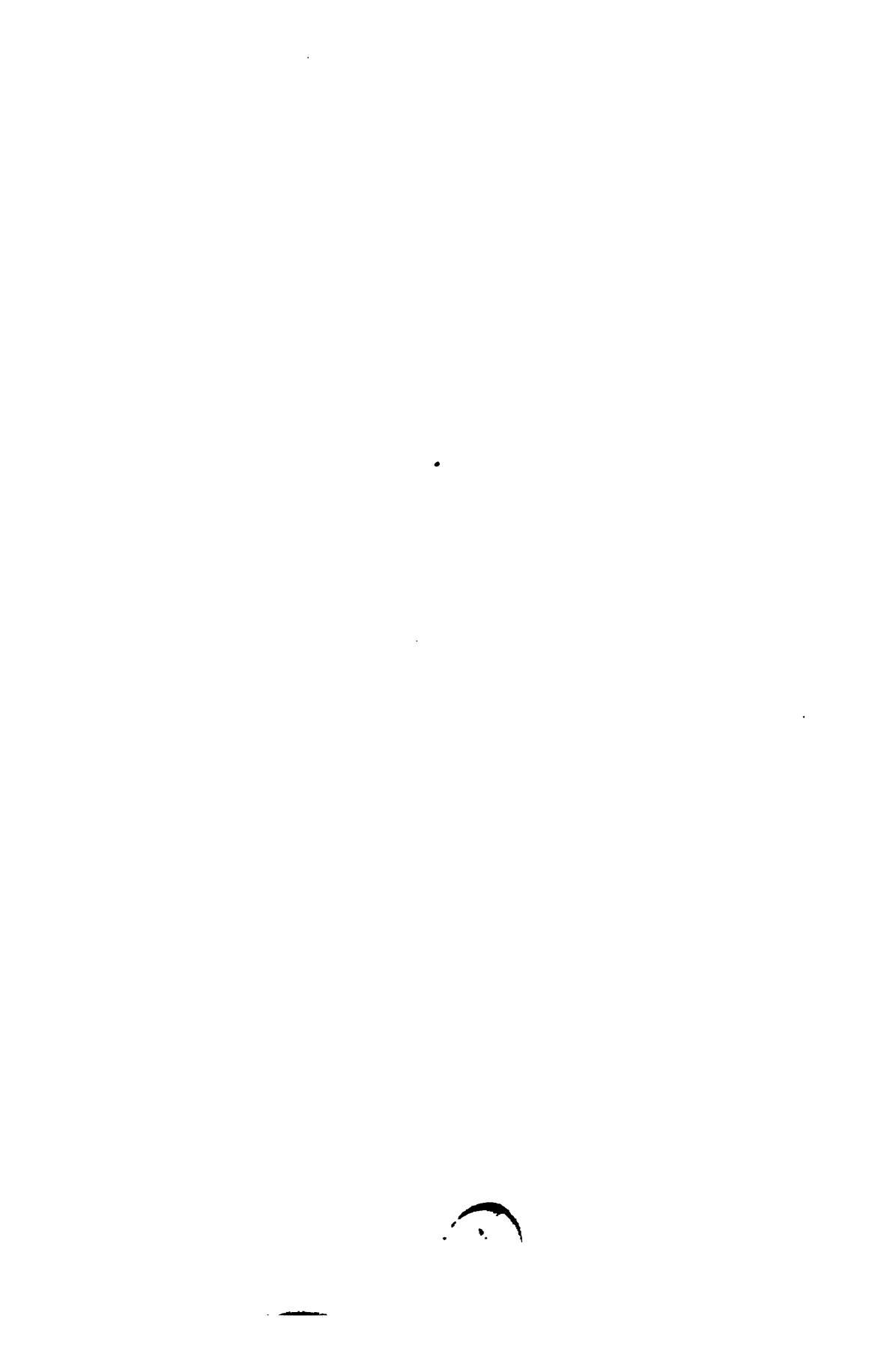
I am gratified personally that this duty falls to me, for, in a somewhat protracted term of service in this society, it has been my good fortune to be associated intimately with every one of these noble men in the various duties which have devolved upon our committee; and I stand here to bear personal testimony to-day to the faithfulness, the devotion, the often self-sacrificing readiness with which they gave of their time, their ability, their substance, if only this old church which they loved so well might be benefited and helped, and the purposes for which it stood might be strengthened.

Those four men typified as well as any four mor-

tals may the special characteristics which this church in its long history of two centuries and a half has stood for and which these memorials are supposed to represent,— Patriotism, Courage, Charity, Truth. These were all manifested in their lives, in their words, and in their actions, simply, earnestly, and well, as they went about their work in the city. Every one made his mark in the sphere in which he was called to labor, and each left behind him a memory which can be fitly and properly commemorated here.

But it seems to me that, after all, the true benefit to this church will not be attained, and the memory of these men will not accomplish what it should, unless these memorials shall stand for something better than that, unless they shall stand as an incentive, as a direct, intentional, and powerful coercive force, to urge and stimulate the men and women who sit in these pews to-day to the same faithful, earnest work which these men have done. Not only in the memory of the past are we to glory. We are also to glory in the fact that their memory urges us to actions in the future which shall carry forward the work which they so long and so well maintained, which shall firmly plant still farther in the future the standard round which they so bravely rallied.

“Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime;
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.”





THE FROTHINGHAM TABLET



THE EMERSON MEMORIAL SERVICE.

THE Afternoon Service was conducted by the Young People's Fraternity of the Second Church in co-operation with the Young People's Union of Massachusetts. The following is the order of exercises:—

Organ Voluntary. "Hymn of Praise," Mendelssohn.

H. G. TUCKER

Solo, "With Verdure Clad," *Creation* . . . Miss MCKAY

Words of Welcome . . . Miss REBECCA D. HOMER,
President of the Fraternity

Hymn, "The Light pours down from Heaven," Lowell Mason.

Liturgg (leader and members responsively).

What are the principles of our Union?

Truth, worship, service.

What does Jesus say of truth?

"Know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

How may we know of the truth?

"Revelation is not sealed;

Answering unto man's endeavor,

Truth and right are still revealed."

How shall we worship God?

"God is a Spirit: they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

Shall we pray to God?

"What are men better than sheep or goats,

That nourish a blind life within the brain,

If, knowing God, they lift not hands in prayer?"

What does Jesus say of his mission ?

"I came that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."

Is salvation thus dependent upon helping others ?

"Heaven's gate is shut to him who comes alone :

Save thou a soul, and it shall save thine own."

For what, then, do we unite ?

In the love of truth we unite for the worship of God and the service of man ; and, as his followers, we accept the religion of Jesus, holding, in accordance with his teaching, that practical religion is summed up in love to God and love to man.

Readings from Emerson's Writings,

HERBERT A. WADLEIGH

Lord's Prayer.

Solo, "Promise of Life," Cowen Miss MCKAY

Address WALTER P. EATON,
President of the National Young People's Religious Union

Unveiling of Bust Miss ALICE L. HIGGINS,
Superintendent of the Sunday School

Closing Hymn, "God bless our Native Land" . . No. 321

Benediction. The Lord watch between me and thee when we are absent one from another. Amen.

REMARKS.

BY MISS REBECCA D. HOMER.

THE large congregation gathered here, notwithstanding the dreary weather, makes the privilege of welcoming you doubly pleasant.

Many famous men have been connected with this society, and this morning we have been doing honor to some of its prominent ministers and laymen; but, of all the names that have been upon our lips, there is none which stands for more widespread influence, through words spoken and written, than the name of Ralph Waldo Emerson, our former minister. As a loving tribute to one whose thoughts have reached throughout our land and upon whom we, as a society, love to think we have a nearer and more personal claim, the young people have deemed it a pleasure and a privilege to present a bust of Emerson to this church.

Our Young People's Fraternity extends a hearty welcome to this large congregation, and invites all to unite in the service which is to follow.

At this point selections from Mr. Emerson's essays were read by Herbert A. Wadleigh, a member of the Fraternity.

ADDRESS.

BY WALTER P. EATON,

President of the National Young People's Religious Union.

WERE it possible to characterize the mental power of Emerson in a single phrase, it might be that he makes one *think*, and that he carries one away, in mind and soul, by his passages of great and pathetic eloquence.

Youth is the time when the mind is most eager to grasp new ideas of life and conduct, the time when the heart is most readily moved by poetry and eloquence. Hence it is that Emerson's appeal is so strong to young people everywhere. Accordingly, it is most fitting that his memorial to-day should be given and dedicated by the young people of the only church which he ever graced as pastor,—The Second Church of Boston.

It is my own good fortune to be allowed on this occasion to pay my tribute to his memory, to give some hint of that which he has done for me, some faint suggestion of that which he can do for other young men and women. Such a man as Emerson is many-sided, has infinite aspects. The attitude of mind, for instance, which led him, in 1832, to resign from the charge of this Second Church, is rich matter for an essay or a sermon. A man who would not pray publicly from his pulpit, nor administer the Lord's Supper to his congregation, because he felt such acts to be, for him, insincere

and formal, and who sacrificed his chosen life-work rather than perform them; a man "who broke his own pedestal to destroy the idolatry he saw about him,"—has that in his character well worth our consideration. It is not so much with Emerson, the man, that we must concern ourselves to-day: it is with the written works he has left behind; and, again, with but one feature of those works,—their peculiar message to young people. That message is, perhaps, the most vital and lasting worth of Emerson's literary remains: it is of that message I shall speak.

I can well remember my own first plunge into the works of Emerson. It came about, like most of the good things in our reading, in a haphazard, almost truant fashion. Many a time I had been advised by friends, zealous of my moral well-being, to read his essays; and I had always refused. We must not be driven to morality and love of the spirit, or we rebel. Such love must come of its own accord, catch us by surprise, and startle us into acceptance by its sudden nearness and appeal. Thus it came to me. I chanced to read one day of an incident in Emerson's life. He had been lecturing in some out-of-the-way town, giving to his small audience the wealth of his thought and eloquence. After he had finished his lecture, the village Socrates came up to him, and said, "Mr. Emerson, I don't agree with the ground you took: can you prove to me that you are correct?" Emerson arose. "Sir," he answered, "I never argue these high questions: if I have given to one mem-

ber of this audience a deeper thought, a loftier aspiration, I am satisfied. Good-night."

Those were stirring words,— words that no young man with a drop of blood in his veins could well resist. I turned to Emerson gladly then, for I no longer feared to find in him mere Sunday-school morality. I turned to him, and opened on this passage:—

"To believe your own thought, to believe that what is true for you in your private heart is true for all men,—that is genius. Speak your latent conviction, and it shall be the universal sense; for the inmost in due time becomes the outmost, and our first thought is rendered back to us by the trumpets of the last judgment. . . . A man should learn to detect and watch that gleam of light which flashes across his mind from within, more than the lustre of the firmament of bards and sages. Yet he dismisses without notice his thought, because it is his. In every work of genius we recognize our own rejected thoughts: they come back to us with a certain *alienated majesty*. Great works of art have for us no more affecting lesson than this. They teach us to abide by our spontaneous impression with good-humored inflexibility, then, most when the whole cry of voices is on the other side. Else to-morrow a stranger will say, with masterly good sense, precisely what we have thought and felt all the time; and we shall be forced to take with shame our own opinion from another."

Here, surely, was no mere moralizing, but practical good sense, the good sense of keen psychology;

and good sense made strangely appealing by a certain flavor of eloquence. The "alienated majesty" of my own rejected thoughts, spoken how often by another, came vividly before me, and startled me into new self-consciousness, awakening in me the majesty of those thoughts I had not rejected, arousing a passionate longing to speak henceforth according to my nature, not according to the dictates of this or that man or woman or custom. I read on:—

"Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string. . . . Let a man know his worth, and keep things under his feet. Let him not peep or steal, or skulk up and down with the air of a charity boy, a bastard, an interloper in the world which exists for him. But the man in the street, finding no worth in himself corresponding to the force which built a tower or sculptured a marble god, feels poor when he looks on these. To him a palace, a statue, or a costly book, have an alien and forbidding air, much like a gay equipage, and seem to say like that, 'Who are you, sir?' Yet they are all his, suitors for his notice, petitioners to his faculties, that they come out and take possession. The picture waits for my verdict: it is not to command me, but I am to settle its claim to praise."

"Discontent,—that is the first step in progress, the first hint of the better life. Mankind is happy with a drum and cymbals till some master comes to play for them on the violin; and thereafter the drum sounds less and less pleasant to their ears, for they have heard a more perfect music. So the young man or woman who comes to Emerson all unaware

as yet that he has a peculiar nature of his own, a young man or woman who takes his opinions second-hand, who finds his greatest ambition and highest happiness in successful conformity to custom and pink-tea leadership, will find, in the essays he reads, a note of doubt,—a note that will grow and swell in volume if allowed its way, until it changes entirely the youth's ideals, placing the emphasis on character and spirit."

Character and spirit,—those two things are Emerson's insistent message to young men and women,—a message needed no less in 1900 than in 1832. For every man must grow through the stages of the past. The babe must be taught what the Stone Men knew; the boy learns the chivalry of the Middle Ages; and the youth on the threshold of manhood has the choice of the best ideals of life his own age affords. But it is always a choice: there is always the question to be decided,—not, What shall I do for a living? What profession shall I learn? but, What sort of a man shall I make of myself? What ideals shall I follow? In this decisive period we all have flashes of the truer light: we all of us realize, even as we worry over the cut of our winter suit or rejoice that So-and-so has invited us to her dance, that only as we are faithful to the *deeper* promptings of our natures are we of real worth in the world. It is hard to keep this realization always in the mind, it is hard to keep the true light clear before the eyes. It is at this hour that Emerson brings to us the greatest help and counsel.

We all have friends, and perhaps some of them are with us now, who thoughtlessly base their estimate of acquaintances on trifling peculiarities of dress or deportment, or who withhold their approval because a person does not entirely carry out the requirements which the society of the day demands. Is it not safe to say that such critics seek the shadow rather than the substance? With what tonic effect these words of Emerson must appeal to their more thoughtful, sober sense!

Could any one come away unmoved from this fragment of verse, so simple and straightforward that it reaches, perhaps, a pathetic dignity unattained by any of Emerson's more ambitious poetry? —

“You shall not love me for what daily spends;
 You shall not know me in the noisy street;
 Where I, as others, follow petty ends;
 Nor when in fair saloons we chance to meet;
 Nor when I'm jaded, sick, anxious or mean:
 But love me then and only when you know
 Me for the channel of the rivers of God
 From deep ideal fontal heavens that flow.”

Character, firmness, lofty independence, — that is the constantly recurring note. “Know thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string.” Know thyself first; for thus only can you truly know others, can you truly estimate their worth in the world. Only as a young man hears the ring of *his own* God-given manhood has he the least right or the faintest title to pass judgment on the meanest of his fellows. *Only character is worth while.* This is Emerson's message to young men and women. It is a message

for to-day as well as for yesterday, and for infinite to-morrows. While his message is this, it is something more besides. Self-reliance, character,—these are not always enough, noble and necessary though they be. A something more is needed, which is spirituality,—a wholesome cheerfulness and trust.

One of the greatest results of an undergraduate course at Harvard is the birth of mental freedom, the development of individual thought and judgment. But too often Harvard College does not confer with these the equal blessings of cheerfulness and faith. She sets free the intellect: she does not breathe life into the spirit. She breeds character without ambition, strength without heroism. The young man who is a cynic because he has sought an answer, but found none, is more worthy of respect, to be sure, than the young man who has not sought at all. His epigrams, though they give the sneer to what is most sacred in life, are better to hear than the everlasting gibber of the youth who aspires to be known as a "sport." Yet such a man is not heroic. Such a man can kindle no fire of enthusiasm, can possess no glad contagion of spirit. To such a young man Emerson brings a further message,—the message of spiritual hope and fervor, of the bravery of the soul. He has well described himself and his own mission to youth in his essay on "Success."

"'Tis cheap and easy to destroy," he says. "There is not a joyful boy or an innocent girl buoyant with fine purposes of duty, in all the street full of eager and rosy faces, but a cynic can chill and dishearten

with a single word. Despondency comes readily enough to the most sanguine. The cynic has only to follow their hint with his bitter confirmation, and they check that eager courageous pace, and go home with heavier step and premature age. . . . Yes, this is easy; but to help the young soul, add energy, inspire hope, and blow the coals into a useful flame; to redeem defeat by new thought, by firm action,—that is not easy, that is the work of divine men.”

That divine work of inspiration, of planting hope in the life of the spirit, is also of Emerson's mission to America. Know thyself, discover your character and worthy tendencies, and then trust them with implicit faith; keep your ideal always before you; live the “strenuous life”; be heroic in your own sphere, however humble. No man lives in vain! Every man has a soul to answer for, an uncommon work to do.

Finally, it is Emerson's mission constantly to reiterate in young and eager ears these words: “Trust thyself”: every heart vibrates to that iron string. Accept the place the Divine Providence has found for you, the society of your contemporaries, the connection of events. Great men have always done so, and confided themselves childlike to the genius of their age, betraying their perception that the Eternal was stirring at their heart, working through their hands, predominating in all their being. And we are now men, and must accept in the highest spirit the same transcendent destiny.

Surely, these are words of inspiration, a strain of the grandest heroism. Surely, the mild-faced, quiet

man who spoke them was as true a hero as the capturer of cities or the sinker of fleets,—a hero of the spirit. Surely, the young people of that congregation who once listened to his lofty thought and looked up to his sunny countenance do naught amiss in giving us back again his features for a lasting recollection. As we look upon his face, here in marble, may each young heart hear once again his counsel! —

“Nothing can bring you peace but yourself. Nothing can bring you peace but the triumph of principle.”

The bust of Emerson, which had been draped with the American flag, was unveiled by Miss Alice L. Higgins, the Superintendent of the Sunday School, who said :—

We have come in this century to feel that all things have history; nothing springs into being at a word, but somewhere has been a flash of conception, a period of development leading up to the glad moment of fulfilment.

Even so has it been with this memorial, which some four years ago, it became the earnest wish of the young people of this church to give to their church. Perhaps no one knows better than I the cost of this memorial in the coin of loving service and glad self-sacrifice.

You have heard why it is peculiarly the privilege of the young people here to remember Emerson. His voice in that pulpit preached the gospel of individual character before he preached it to a listening world.





RALPH WALDO EMERSON



Far back in the past was the first church of this society dedicated by those who felt themselves servants of Almighty God. To-day has this church been anew dedicated by those who feel themselves children of an all-loving Father. Long may it stand; and while it stands may this memorial remain, given by the young people in memory of the spirit and character of Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The bust of Mr. Emerson was made by the well-known sculptor, Mr. Sydney L. Morse, of Buffalo, N.Y.

A PURITAN SERVICE.

THE evening of Sunday was devoted to a Puritan service, and included addresses by the ministers of five of the oldest churches of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The music of the evening was rendered by a select choir of sixteen voices, a string orchestra and flute, under the direction of H. G. Tucker, and in the final number by a chorus of forty voices from the Handel and Haydn Society. Miss Mary Phillips Webster selected quotations and rendered valuable assistance in arranging the musical programme. It was intended to show the gradual development of church music from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.

A PURITAN SERVICE.

"Either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or such like song to the praise of Almighty God in the best melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived." (*Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions for the Guidance of the Clergy*, 1559.)

"The people are everywhere exceedingly inclined to the better part. The practice of joining in church music has very much conduced to this. For, as soon as they had once commenced singing in public, in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the neighborhood but even the towns far distant began to vie with each other in the same practice. You may now sometimes see at Paul's cross, after the sermon, six thousand persons . . . all singing together and praising God." (*Bishop Jewel's Letter from London to Peter Martyr at Zurich*, Mar. 5, 1560.)

Old Hundredth. Original tune, 1552; Kethe's words, 1561.
From Sternhold and Hopkins, 1588.

(To be sung by all the people in unison without accompaniment.)



“ All people that on earth do dwell
syng to the Lord with cheerefull voyce
Him serue with feare his prayse forth tell;
come ye before him and reioyce.

The Lord ye know is God indeede,
without our aide he did vs make;
We are his flocke, He doth vs feede,
and for his sheepe he doth vs take.

O enter then his gates with prayse,
approch with ioy his courts vnto;
Praise, laud, and bless his name alwayes,
for it is seemely so to doe.

For why? the Lord our God is good,
his mercy is foreuer sure;
His truth at all times firmly stood,
and shall from age to age endure.”

Address Rev. ELVIN J. PRESCOTT,
Minister of the First Church in Salem. (Founded 1629.)

“ Concerning singing of Psalms, we allow of the people's joining with one voice in a plain tune, but not of tossing the Psalms from one side to the other with intermingling of organs.” *(Confession of Puritans, 1571.)*

"If God give you a spirit of Reformation . . . what will the end be? Comfort and blessing. . . .

"Therefore I beseech you in the name of God, set your hearts to this 'work.' And if you set your hearts to it, then you will sing Luther's Psalm. That is a rare Psalm for a Christian!" (*Speech of Oliver Cromwell at the Opening of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 1656.*)

Luther's Psalm. (Psalm 46.)

Sternhold and Hopkins, ed. 1630.

(To be sung in unison without accompaniment.)

1. "The Lord is our defence and aide,
the strengthe whereby we stand;
When we with woe are much dismaide,
he is our help at hand.
2. Though the earth remoue we will not feare,
though hills so high and steepe,
Be thrust and hurled here and there,
within the Sea so deepe.
3. Not though the waves doe rage so sore,
that all the bankes it spills;
And though it ouerflow the shore,
and beat downe mightie hils;
4. Yet one faire flood doth send abroad
his pleasant streames apace,
To fresh the Citie of our God,
and wash his holy place.
5. In midst of her the Lord doth dwell
she can no whit decay;
All things against her that rebell
the Lord will truely stay.
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7. The Lord of hosts doth us defend,
he is our strength and tower;
On Jacob's God we doe depend,
And on his mightie power."

COLOSSIANS III.

"Let the word of God dwell plenteously in you, in all wisdom teaching and exhorting one another in Psalmes, Himnes, and spirituall songs, singing to the Lord with grace in your hearts."

JAMES V.

"If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if any be merry let him sing psalmes." (*Title-page of Bay Psalm Book, 1640.*)

Psalm 23, from Mather's Psalterium Americanum. 1718.

(Set to "Low Dutch Tune," unaccompanied. From Bay Psalm Book, ed. 1698. Each line read or lined out by an officer of the church before being sung.)

1. My Shepherd is th' ETERNAL God; || I shall not be in
[Ang] want: ||
2. In pastures of a tender grass || He [~~E~~ver] makes me to
lie down: || To waters of tranquillities || He gently carries
me, [Along.] ||
3. My feeble and my wandering Soul || He [kindly] does
fetch back again; || In the plain paths of righteousness ||
He does lead [And guide] me along, || because of the
regard He has, || [~~E~~ver] unto His Glorious Name. ||
4. Yea, when I shall walk in the Vale || of the dark [dismal]
shade of death, || I'll of no evil be afraid, || because thou
[~~e~~ver] art with me. || Thy rod and thy staff, these are
what || yield [constant] comfort unto me.
5. A table thou dost furnish out || richly [for me] before my
face. || 'Tis in view of mine enemies; || [And then]
my head thou dost anoint || with fatning and perfuming
Oil: || my cup it overflows. ||
6. Most certainly the thing that is || Good, with [most kind]
Benignity, || This all the days that I do live || shall [still
and] ever follow me; || Yea, I shall dwell, and Sab-
batize, || even to length of days, || Lodg'd in the House
which does belong || to [him who's] the ETERNAL
God. ||

Address Rev. EUGENE R. SHIPPEN,
Minister of the First Church in Dorchester. (Founded 1630.)

Address Rev. JAMES EELLS,
Minister of the First Church in Boston. (Founded 1630.)

"For Man may justly tuneful Strains admire,
 His Soul is Music, and his Breast a Lyre.
 Music, the mighty Artist, Man can rule,
 So long as that has Numbers, he a Soul."
(Quoted by Thomas Walter in his "Sermon on Regular Singing.")

Psalm 119 From Walter's Singing Book (1721).
*(Recommended by Increase and Cotton Mather ; sung in three parts,
 unaccompanied.)*

12. Bless'd art thou, O ETERNAL God ; ||
 Thy Statutes [~~therefore~~] teach thou me. ||
13. I all the Judgments of thy mouth ||
 have with my lips declar'd [~~about~~]
14. I in thy Testimonies way, || [~~as much~~]
 as in all wealth, rejoyce.
15. I'll on thy Precepts meditate ; ||
 and I'll regard [~~with care~~] thy Paths."

Psalterium Americanum.

"Down starts the Bass with Grave Majestic Air,
 And up the Treble mounts with shrill Career,
 With softer Sounds in mild melodious Maze
 Warbling between, the Tenor gently plays
 And, if th' inspiring Altus joins the Force
 See! like the Lark it Wings its towering Course
 Thro' Harmony's sublimest Sphere it flies
 And to Angelic Accents seems to rise."

Dr. Mather Byles.

Sherburne. A favorite Fuguing tune.

Daniel Read, Philo-Musico, 1793.

*(From The American Singing Book, 1793 ; with accompaniment of strings
 and flutes.)*

"While Shepherds watched their flocks by night,
 All seated on the ground,
 The Angel of the Lord came down,
 And glory shone around."

Address Rev. JAMES DE NORMANDIE, D.D.,
Minister of the First Church, Roxbury. (Founded 1631.)

"in the singing seats
Of the meeting-house,—bass-viol, flute,
And tuning-fork, and rows of village-girls,
With lips half open; treble clashed with bass
In most melodious madness."

Lucy Larcom.

Denmark From Lock Hospital Collection, ed. 1809.

(Used by Handel and Haydn Society of Boston at their first meetings; small organ, strings and flute.)

"Before Jehovah's awful throne,
Ye nations bow with sacred joy.
Know that the Lord is God alone!
He can create and he destroy.

His sov'reign power without our aid
Made us of clay, and form'd us men:
And when like wandering sheep we stray'd,
He brought us to his fold again.

We are his people, we his care,
Our souls, and all our mortal frame;
What lasting honours shall we rear,
Almighty Maker, to thy name?

We'll crowd thy gates with thankful songs,
High as the heavens our voices raise
And earth with her ten thousand tongues
Shall fill thy courts with sounding praise.

Wide as the world is thy command,
Vast as eternity thy love,
Firm as a rock thy truth must stand,
When rolling years shall cease to move."

Isaac Watts.

John Wesley.

Address Rev. GEORGE A. GORDON, D.D.,
Minister of the Third (Old South) Church. (Founded 1669.)

"But let my due feet never fail
 To walk the studious cloister's pale
 And love the high embow'd roof,
 With antique pillars massy proof,
 And storied windows richly dight
 Casting a dim religious light;
 There let the pealing organ blow
 To the full-voiced quire below
 In service high and anthems clear,
 As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
 Dissolve me into ecstasies,
 And bring all Heaven before mine eyes."

John Milton.

Chorus, "Judah Maccabæus," By Handel.

(The music of this Oratorio was advertised for sale in the "Boston Centinel," Feb. 23, 1807, as "by Mr. Handell"; full organ, strings and flutes, with chorus.)

"O Father, whose almighty pow'r
 The heav'ns and earth, and seas adore!
 The heart of Judah, thy delight,
 In one defensive band unite
 And grant a leader bold and brave,
 If not to conquer, born to save."

Congregational Hymn. "America."

(Organ, orchestra, chorus and people.)

"Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old . . . Forget not."
(John Milton).

"I have witnessed the growth of their faith, I have seen the advancement of their virtue, I have known their perseverance in good works. To them I say, Go on, and the Lord go with you in peace and strength. . . . And when the day shall have arrived that these temples have mouldered, and all earthly worship ceases,—then—it is my hope and prayer that we shall be found side by side in the worship of eternity. . . . God bestow upon you the choicest of spiritual blessings. . . . May the spirit of Christ dwell in you richly with all wisdom; and the peace of God which passeth all understanding abide among you and sanctify you always." (*From Farewell Address of Henry Ware, Jr., Oct. 4, 1830.*)

Benediction REV. THOMAS VAN NESS,
Minister of The Second Church in Boston. (Founded 1649.)

ADDRESS.

BY THE REV. ELVIN J. PRESCOTT,

Minister of the First Church, Salem.

Friends of The Second Church in Boston,—I come to you to-night to bring you the greetings of the old First Church of Salem. Last night I stood before the little old First Church building in Salem, showing it to some friends. This morning I took the train and went down to Hingham and preached in that which is the oldest church building now occupied in America, and to-night I come here to bring the greetings of the oldest organized religious society in America, upon your two hundred and fiftieth anniversary; and really, friends I do not know whether I belong to this century or to some other!

As I look back over the past and consider our theme,—“Our Debt to this Same Past,”—it seems to me that the key-note of our thoughts might be the *strength of character* that these men brought into our land. God never undertakes to do a great work without beginning in seemingly small ways. He sows a tiny seed, and from that seed there grows a mighty plant. One would hardly have realized, had he lived in the early days of Puritanism in England, that those men who sailed over to America, so few of them, were to lay the founda-

tion not only of a church, but of a mighty country and a mighty democracy. There was a mighty country to be settled, there were great forests to be cleared. There was to be established here a republic, a democracy, such as the world had never seen. What was needed? The one thing needed more than anything else was men,—strong, noble, and inspired men, men of strength of character. And if our Puritan ancestors were sometimes regarded as cold externally, if they were cold in their Puritanism, if the history of the inner life counts for anything, we are told that in that inner life they were warm-hearted. They were tender and loving in their homes, showing that strength and tenderness could be combined. So it seems to me that in Salem, in Boston, in Dorchester, in these towns of Massachusetts Bay, there was laid the foundation of that great strength of character which was not alone to give democracy in religion, but in government as well. That is one of our debts to the past.

But there is another side to this question. We are not only to ask, What is our debt to the past, what do we owe these men? But what shall we do to pay that debt? If these men studied those great principles and carried them into effect, so that the results have been what they are, then on such an occasion as this it is well for us to ask, What shall be done to pay that debt? If two hundred and fifty years ago there was a religious movement in Boston which resulted in the establishment of this church, as two hundred and seventy years ago there

was such a movement in Salem, the question at the close of the nineteenth century is: What is going to be the future of that church? What is going to be the future of our religion, the outcome of this strong old Puritanism? The Puritan minister stood as a man of God. He was the man that interpreted to the best of his ability the spirit of the divine life that entered his heart. The modern minister, his follower, stands as the interpreter of that life as it appears to him in the present,—in science, art, literature, and in all phases of modern life. More than that, he stands as did his older brother, as the inspirer to his congregation, to take his interpretation and make it a living reality in the community. This has been therein the work of the Christian minister. This is his work to-day as ever. If we are to pay our debt to the past, the minister of to-day, the church of to-day, needs the inspiration, the fire, the benediction, that shall enter his heart and inspire it with religious zeal and earnestness to carry on this work that these men have so nobly and gloriously started. I believe that every milestone in the progress of the Christian Church means that we see this duty more clearly. We are holding this service to mark this two hundred and fiftieth milestone, from which we take a new step toward better things. That is the way we are to pay the debt to the past, and in that spirit I come to you with the greetings of the First Church of Salem.

ADDRESS.


BY THE REV. JAMES EELLS,

Minister of the First Church in Boston.

My Friends of The Second Church,—I find it difficult to put in words how very glad I am, and how great a privilege I regard it, to be here on this most interesting anniversary. Before venturing to come, I took counsel with your older sister, the First Church of Boston; and, looking at me earnestly, she said: "Tell her that I remember those long, lonely years before she came, and how glad I was when she came, and what a joy it has been to work with her. Tell my sister, The Second Church, how I rejoice with her at this time." And then she grew serious and a little more earnest, and said, "Be sure and tell her that our work is not yet done." And so I come to bring you her greetings. Our work is not yet done, and the First Church will be glad to know that your work is going on with greater and fairer spirit than even in the past.

By the request of your committee, I am to speak of "Our Inheritance from the Past." I desire very briefly to take one phase of this subject which often receives too scant notice.

We inherit formative forces, not their applications; potentialities, not their embodiments. Which truth frees us from the necessity of claiming only such things as seem to be most in accord




with our present or so nearly in accord as to be made to appear quite so with a little patronizing apology. For many things of the past we have no word but that of sweeping denunciation or righteous scorn. But that may lose for us the deep and eternal worth of those very things. Abiding verities underlie the phenomena of every age. We may forfeit the worth of the verity when we refuse the phenomenon. Let me show you what I mean, for this is really my theme.

I do not forget that I am speaking to some whose ecclesiastical, if not personal, ancestors were parishioners of the two mighty Mathers. Nor can I forget the prominent part which these two men took in the prosecution of witchcraft. Here is our first item. After this excitement had passed, the Rev. Cotton Mather was called upon by the governor to justify what had been done. The result was a book entitled "The Wonders of the Invisible World, being an Account of the Tryalls of Several Witches lately Executed in New England." This book was published in 1693, while as yet he was the colleague of his father in the ministry of this church. It thus sets forth the prevalent notion concerning witches: "The New Englanders are a people of God, settled in those which were once the Devil's territories; and it may easily be supposed that the Devil was exceedingly disturbed when he perceived such people here. The Devil, thus irritated, try'd all sorts of methods to overthrow this plantation. . . . But all these Attempts of Hell have hitherto been Abortive. Wherefore

the Devil is now making one Attempt more upon us; an Attempt more Difficult, more Surprising, more snarl'd with unintelligible Circumstances, than any that we have hitherto Encountered. . . . He has drawn forth his most Spiritual ones to make an Attacque upon us. We have now with horror seen the discovery of Witchcraft. An Army of Devils is horribly broke in upon the place which is the Centre of our English Settlement, and the houses of the good People there are fill'd with the doleful shrieks of their Children and Servants tormented by Invisible Hands with Tortures altogether Supernatural." Increase Mather, eight years before, had written of spectres seen, houses haunted, storms stirred up, all (to him) the undoubted work of demons.

Another amazing thing is the definiteness of the relation of these people to God. To men who believed so profoundly in the work of spirits, it was of supreme importance that the influence of the Good Spirit should be so thorough and so consistently recognized as to leave no loophole for the entrance of any least abomination. Believing themselves to be under the direct and immediate control of God, that control must be evidenced in whatever happened. Such happenings, small or large, became for them providential. The author of "The Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Savior in New England" affirms therein that God "standeth not as an idle spectator beholding his people's ruth and their enemies' rage, but as an actor in all actions to bring to naught the desires of the wicked,



having also the ordering of every weapon in its first produce, guiding every shaft that flies, leading each bullet to its place of settling, and each weapon to the wound it makes." Nothing could be more definite than that. Into the care of this Providence they put themselves austerely, simply, grimly. God's commands they obeyed to the letter. For him they would live and die; and their defence, when under question or censure, was the defence of Cotton Mather after the witchcraft frenzy, that God had assumed all the responsibility for that proceeding. They carried this idea into everything.

The General Court, in 1654, decreed that "those who have manifested themselves unsound in the faith, or not giving due satisfaction according to the rules of Christ," could not teach in the public schools,—an order which caused much discomfort and trouble. But there was nothing else to be done. Colleges and Latin schools were founded for the express purpose of educating young men for the ministry. The General Court also records, "To the end that the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it was ordered that for time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." It was their maxim that an orderly and peaceful government must be founded upon religion, and they knew of no other way to accomplish this. There was no lawyer in the community for years, but they needed none. Their law book was the Bible. Their statutes were those of

God revealed and committed to Christian magistrates for administration. This rigor is explained when we see on the Records of the Massachusetts Company that "the propagating of the Gospel is the thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling this plantation."

Lastly, I must open that dark page of persecutions, when men and women were expelled and punished for believing contrary to the majority. Mistress Ann Hutchinson threw the little community into a ferment of excitement by her adherence to the covenant of grace instead of the accepted covenant of works. As everything was definite in those days, she and her followers left nothing to the imagination in their practices. And Mistress Ann Hutchinson was driven forth remorselessly into sickness, privation, exposure, and ultimate murder, for her "damnable heresies." Roger Williams, because he had "broached and divulged newe and dangerous opinions against the auchthoritie of magistrates," was ordered to "depart out of their jurisdiction within sixe weeks nexte ensueing." The Baptists were persecuted almost beyond human endurance — whipped, imprisoned, fined, reviled, banished — because they assailed the "standing order," made "infaunt baptisme a nullitie," pronounced all members of churches "unbaptized persones," and denied them valid ministry and ordinances. The Court, therefore, judged it "necessary that they be remooved to some other part of the country or elsewhere," to set up their "free school for seduction into wayes of error." But by far the most tragic

and sad of these struggles was the treatment of the Quakers. What need to recount the story of Mary Dyer and George Fox, of the hangings on Boston Common, of the floggings at the tail of an ox-cart creeping through the village streets? It is all dreadful, pitiful, shameful. But is there nothing for us other than sorrow that such things could ever be, or the wish to forget and apologize for them? Have we no inheritance from these dark things?

When men nervously shut their windows in the gathering gloom of night-fall, shuddered when the wind howled in their great square chimneys, and blanched if the gaze of an ancient dame were fixed upon them, I take it to have been merely the perversion of the noblest truth. I believe it to have been that day's crude, dramatic, unconscious but powerful witness borne to the truth that matter is interfused with spirit; that this life of ours and all the reaches and affairs of it are dominated by spirit; that matter has no essential obstacle to the influence of God. Their doctrine of special providence is a corollary to this same truth. When they declared so narrowly and with such bigotry that none but church members could teach school or vote; when they insisted upon the most trivial things as the direct action of Deity; when they made the Bible the literal rule of their faith and practice, and fell into such absurd mistakes in so doing,— I find in it the great, burning desire of all earnest, conscientious men,— that God, and Righteousness and Truth shall be the very foundation of

all statecraft and community intercourse. I do not care for their "Blue Laws," nor do I inherit them. They were practices, not potentialities; but I fear lest in sweeping them out of doors I lose also the inheritance of loyalty to God which they betoken. I fear, in laughing at their absurdities, I be guilty of being laughed at for my shallowness. When they sternly, savagely drove from among them those who did not share their beliefs, I do not find merely cruelty nor intolerance. Rather it is the rough but supreme recognition of the community idea,—that, if one member suffer, all the members suffer, that the sin of one darkens the fair lives of all, that no full righteousness can prevail if sin is permitted. They purified their lives by expelling the turbid element. It was expulsion rather than reformation.

We shall be vastly poorer if out of our inheritance we leave this truth of the recognition of the indwelling, incoming God, if we forget that we belong to the community, and that instead of expelling the sinner we should strive as never before to expel the sin, with the same relentless, uncompromising severity. This sombre, sober, materialistic life of ours is all sun-shot with the glory of the present God, not by the demons of witchcraft. And we inherit the beautiful riches of God, who "fulfils himself in many ways, lest one good custom should corrupt the world." Standing here on the threshold of a new era of better living, and newer, more hopeful years, what wealth can you take with you like the belief that this matter-of-fact, hurrying, familiar world is all God's, through and through, and there-

fore spirituality is not an idle dream; that this community lays its just claim upon your faith and hope and charity, emphasizing that claim by insisting that ye cannot be perfect and entire until the community lacks nothing? Into this vast, this winning, this magnificent inheritance may we all go, as some time into the joy of our Lord.

“Ah! from the old world let some one answer give :
 ‘Scorn ye this world, their tears, their inward cares’.
 I say unto you, see that *your* souls live
 A deeper life than theirs!

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“Children of men! not that your age excel
 In pride of life the ages of your sires,
 But that ye think clear, feel deep, bear fruit well,
 The Friend of man desires.”

ADDRESS.


BY THE REV. EUGENE R. SHIPPEN,
Minister of the First Church in Dorchester.

ONE of the first sermons preached by Increase Mather had for its text, “Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee.” That sermon was in 1661, in his home church in Dorchester, three years before his installation as minister of this your church. Let that text be my salutation this night as you celebrate your quarter millennial anniversary. May peace rest upon this church, and prosperity make here its abiding home!

That is what we of Dorchester would wish for you. With that wish for your successful future are joined our congratulations for your honorable past. The First Parish in Dorchester has a distinct share in that past, and we rejoice with you in your anniversary celebration as kinsmen. Men and women trained to godliness in the Dorchester church in the early days gave their strength to this church of yours when most it was needed. In our church records there is entry after entry "dismissed to joyne unto the new church at Boston" (your church being called the new church until the formation of the Third Church). Some of these records relating to the Second Church antedate your own extant records. Aron Way, William Ireland, Thankfull Baker, Mahalaleel Munings are among the names of Dorchester members dismissed to Boston. Dorchester blood thus flows in the veins of this aged but active religious body.

Personal ties in this way created were strengthened as the years went on by the bonds of spiritual fellowship. The two churches were one in their attempt to create a theocracy. They were one in their espousal of the cause of independence. They were one in their gradual loosing of the chains of Calvinism. They are one to-day in proclaiming the simple religion of Jesus.

Our records bear early witness to the intimate relations between the two churches. Frequent were the days of thanksgiving and humiliation jointly observed. One of the most significant and interesting of the special days observed by the churches



of Boston and neighborhood was that set apart in December, 1659, "on y^e behalf of o^r native Cuntry they being at this time in such an unsettled way of government being wthout p'tector & wthout parliament only y^e power remaining in y^e army & they alsoe being devided." *

But for one reason above all others the Dorchester church claims a share in your history: we gave you the Mathers. Six of them, perhaps more, have preached in your church, three of whom (I might almost say four) were your settled ministers. Richard Mather, the founder of the famous family, was minister of the First Church and Parish in Dorchester from 1636 to 1669. Of his labors in his parish and in the colony I need not here speak. Distinguished as he was in his day and generation, it was his happy fate to give to posterity, and especially to this church, sons, and, through them, grandsons to shed even greater lustre on the name. As the quaint inscription upon his head-stone in the Old Dorchester Burying-ground reads:—

DIVINELY RICH & LEARNED RICHARD MATHER
SONS LIKE HIM PROPHETS GREAT REIOICED THIS FATHER.

Three of Richard's sons are associated with your church. Samuel, the oldest, was the first minister of this church. Though not actually settled, and so not appearing in the list, he was yet the first minister callèd to the pastorate of The Second Church, and, as a matter of fact, served most acceptably as the minister for several months, until his return to England.

* Records of the First Church at Dorchester, p. 32.

Another son, Eleazar, is in the Dorchester records thus distinguished in a note by the scribe: "Preached at Boston North," that being one of the popular titles of The Second Church. We know, however, that he was settled over the church at Northampton, its first minister, so that his services here must have been only occasional. There is a melancholy interest connected with Eleazar Mather in that he was the father of the hapless Mrs. Williams, of Deerfield, killed by the Indians.

The sixth son of Richard Mather, Dorchester born and bred, was Increase Mather. In the annals of the Protestant ministry there are few more illustrious names. For over half a century minister of this church, for sixteen years President of Harvard College, the first to receive its honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, Increase Mather was in his day perhaps the chief citizen of Boston, and the leading spirit in New England.

Three years before he became your settled Minister, he supplied on alternate Sundays for one winter the pulpit of this church and his father's church in Dorchester. A very special interest Dorchester had in him, therefore. Under date of March 22, 1664, the following entry was made in our Dorchester church records. Let me read it from the precious volume itself, which our senior deacon with many warnings and much misgiving has allowed me to bring here:—

"The day above said ther was a letter read sent to y^e Church from y^e last gathered Church at Bos-

ton wherin was manifested & declared ther purpos for to p'ceed to ordaine M^r Increase Mather to y^e office of a teacher unto that Church, alsoe ther desier is y^t y^e Church of dorchester would send some messengers for to assist & be p'sent at that work." *

Of Cotton Mather, the most famous member of the family, and of Samuel, your ministers, time does not allow me to speak; nor, indeed, was their connection with Dorchester such as to give me special reason for so doing. I think, however, I have made out my case, showing that through the transplanting of members, the unbroken spiritual fellowship of two hundred and fifty years, and in the gift of the Mathers, we of the Dorchester First Church and Parish have a special right to rejoice with you, and reason for a special interest in your historic retrospect.

One word in conclusion. The Puritan Church produced God-fearing men of the highest character. They, in turn, gave to the church of God their supreme devotion. If the church producing the men and the men serving the church had great faults, it was simply because their pattern was great.

I, for one, should like to see the spirit of Puritanism rise phœnix-like from the ashes of history. Better intolerance than indifference. Superstition were a lesser evil than a negative liberalism. Other-worldliness is at any rate nobler than worldliness.

But the spirit of Puritanism is not involved in

* Manuscript Records, p. 59.

its faults. I see in it religious reverence, personal dignity, and "militant sincerity." Its essence is embodied in the lines with which I close,—an ode written by a former member of the Dorchester church.

Thou living Truth and vital Power !
We cling unto thy changeless breast,
The phantoms of a mortal hour,
And find immortal life and rest.

Our fathers spoke their thought of Thee
In words austere, with lips aglow,
And told in prayer, on bended knee,
The mystic tale of human woe.

We, children of a later hour,
Seek in soft speech and gentler tongue
To veil the splendor of thy power,
And do thy brooding love no wrong.

Our fathers caught with straining ear
The echoes of the Sinai storm ;
And we a rarer music hear,—
The worship of the Life new-born.

But guard us, O thou living Lord,
If, lost our silken lines among,
We miss the high, heroic chord
That through their manly accents rung.

Shone on their brows the fervid beam
Of truth, in human symbols given ;
Oh, guard us, lest earth's tender sheen
Shut off that grander light of heaven.

Eliza Thayer Clapp.

ADDRESS.

BY REV. JAMES DE NORMANDIE, D.D.,

Minister of the First Church in Roxbury, 1631.

AMONG my books is a small volume printed in London in 1639, in which it is stated that Boston is a pleasantly situated town about two miles north-east of Rocksborough; and of Rocksborough much is said of its beauty and richness, its fine houses, herds of cattle, great orchards, impaled corn-fields, and a beautiful stream flowing through the town. That is Stony Brook, which sometimes has flowed altogether too much.

When we recall that this was only nine years after the first settlements, we see how rapid the growth was in spite of all the difficulties which beset the colonists in clearing the forests, in severe winters, and from hostile natives.

Now the general features in the doctrines, modes of worship, social customs, and laws in these early churches here represented were much the same. There was the same solemn, strict, and universal observance of the Sabbath. There was the same interest in the pulpit and the pews in long sermons and prayers, the same sense of judgment for every calamity and of providence for every success.

In all the enterprises, dangers, privations, and promises of building up a new country, the church of the Puritans was a most conspicuous feature. The covenant was no unmeaning form,—to walk

together by the grace of God, and to watch over one another for good. The spiritual watchfulness in these early churches knew no lapse. No papal inquisition was ever keener than the Puritan's search for heresy or for sin, but a tender love and sympathy went with it. The atmosphere of every home was well known, and every lapsing brother or sister was brought to the open confessional or banished the settlement. On the Rockesburgh Hill, hard by the first little rough meeting-house, about 20 x 30 and 12 feet high, stood the stocks, guardian of peace and terror of evil-doers, where the offender had to stand in full view of the elect.

The Church Records make strange reading to us; but there was no hesitation in the Minister about putting down in black and white the praises or the transgressions of his flock. But we see the sins make a small part of the volumes. Here comes out the stern hope of the church about erring brethren: "And we have come to hope that the full proceeding of discipline will doe more good than theire sin hath hurt." And here is their watchfulness over the morals of trade: "The wife of William Webb, — she followed baking — & through her covetuous mind she made light waight, after many admonitions flatly denying that after she had weighed her dough, she never nimed off bitts from each loaf, which yet four witnesses testified to be a common, if not a practis, for all which grosse sins she was excommunicated. But afterwards she was reconciled to the church, lived Xianly, and dyed comfortably."

While in such records and religious experiences these churches were, I take it, much the same, the First Church in Rockesburgh was distinguished from the others apparently by two interests. Its care for the young was most marked. Here, as far as any records can be found, was the first Sunday-school in the New World; but its work is hardly that which would commend itself to the members of our Young People's Religious Union.

In the first church book, under date of 10 month, 6, 1674, it is written, "This day we restored our primitive practice [showing it had been an earlier custom] for the training up our youth,—first, our male youth, in fitting season stay every Sabbath after the evening exercise in the Public meeting-house, where the elders will examine their remembrance that day [of the sermon] any fit poynt of Catechise. Secondly, that our female youth should meet in one place, where the elders may examine them of their remembrance yesterday, & about Catechise, or what else may be convenient."

Then Eliot was beset to do something for the education of the young. It was a care never out of his mind. At one of the meetings of all the ministers of this neighborhood he exclaimed with great fervor: "Lord, for schools everywhere among us. That our schools may flourish. That every member of this assembly may go home and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives. That before we die we may be so happy as to see a good school encouraged in every plantation of the country."

It was out of this interest that the old Roxbury Latin School was established under the care of the First Church, after the type of those schools then so famous in England, and called "grammar schools," because grammar was the key of language,—that mysterious power by which soul speaks to soul. Cotton Mather says of the issue of this school that Roxbury has afforded more scholars first for the college and then for the public than any town of its bigness, or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness, in all New England. And still to-day, after two hundred and fifty years, it remains unique and distinguished as one of the best fitting schools for our neighboring university.

The other feature of the First Church was the missionary work of the apostle Eliot among the Indians. So far as I can recall, the other churches here represented had no interest whatever in this work. I am not sure that any word can be found in their early history referring to it.

And so at a later period, when the anti-slavery times came, there is but one of these same churches which has a public word to say about that,—the courageous and godly ministry of Nathaniel Hall, of the First Church in Dorchester.

There can be little question that the Puritans as a class cared nothing about the Indians. They believed they were the children of the Devil. They had no confidence that the Indians could be civilized or converted, and very early they had a proverb that the only good Indian was a dead Indian. And it is true that a large part of the

American people still feels so toward the remnants of the race lingering along the fringe of our Western civilization. Just as the race is about to disappear, the awakened heart of the nation begins to take a better attitude.

But Eliot believed the Indians were the lost tribes of Israel, and that in their language he would find some traces of the Hebrew, which he firmly believed was the language of heaven, in which by God's own voice the Old Testament had been given to men, and which would be forever the language of the redeemed. So he began that wonderful missionary life, as all true missionary work begins, in the love of humanity; and no human labors were ever more earnest, devoted, and self-sacrificing.

In his home, at the foot of the hill on which the church stands,—the same site still marked by the most commanding old Puritan House of God in New England,—he had an evening school for the Indians; and during the week, or when he could have a spare Sunday for longer journeys, wherever the Indians could be gathered in wigwams, under spreading trees, down along the Cape, all through Western Massachusetts, and up to the borders of New Hampshire, there Eliot was to be found. No difficulties too great. No thought of self came to the surface. Every personal comfort was surrendered, every sacrifice was gladly borne. And then he would come back, and through the long night, by his tallow candle, give himself to the translation of the Scriptures into their language

with a diligence and love which shames almost all records of scholarship.

His missionary zeal was not less than Saint Paul's, his charity as sweet and abundant as Saint Francis of Assisi, and his whole life a testimony that the call to saintliness has not ceased and the possibility of it has not died out. The First Church of Roxbury has great reason to be proud of his ministry and to cherish his memory; and it still tries to carry on his work of converting the surrounding and unchurched heathen.

Nearly twenty years have passed since it celebrated the anniversary which gathers you together here this evening. We rejoice in your record as in our own,—that you, as we, were led into that movement which under Channing came to some of our churches with a new and richer spiritual life. It is an interesting fact in the history of religion that the flourishing condition of one church is only a help to all others; and, when the spiritual life of one languishes, its baneful influence is felt in a weakening will. We bear our best greetings to you in grateful memories of all the life of this church has meant to the community for two hundred and fifty years, and join our prayers with yours for only increasing Christian activities and usefulness for centuries without end.

These churches have a noble history to encourage them; and now, looking not to the past, but to the future, the serious question is, What shall we do to increase our mission? The real value of a church is not in its past, but in its zeal and ability

to minister to the religious needs of to-day. We are not like the fathers by wearing the gown and bands, or by subscribing merely to their doctrines, but by their zeal for the truth, by their love for humanity, and by a deeper faith in those few great spiritual realities which have ever been and must ever be the refuge and support of the human soul.

ADDRESS.

BY REV. GEORGE A. GORDON, D.D.,

Minister of the Third Church in Boston.

WHEN in a large family — a family of five — a lovely sister has arrived at the interesting age of eighteen, it is in order for the older sisters to bid her welcome to the great world of womanhood; and they do so by telling her what very great things are before her, and for what great things she is indebted to them. Afterward, the younger sister comes, shy, lonesome, green in her immaturity, and stammers out her welcome.

This church has reached an interesting period in its existence, and its older sisters have bidden her welcome; and I think they have reminded her of her debt to them. And now it is my turn to tell you how much love and sympathy and hearty congratulation there are in the heart of the Third Church, your younger sister, for you of the Second Church.

There are a great many things that are uncertain

in human affairs and in church affairs, but there is one thing pretty certain; and that is that the record of Dr. Sewall of fifty-six years as pastor of the Third Church will not be broken by the present incumbent, and I should say with nearly the same certainty that the record of Increase Mather of sixty-two years as incumbent of this pulpit will not be broken by Mr. Van Ness. I am sorry for this, for I think that you are far better off under his ministry than you would be under that famous and rather grim old man.

The thing that lies in my heart to say to-night is a word of congratulation over the treasure of your two hundred and fifty years of history. It is a treasure, taken as a whole,—an inexpressibly precious treasure. I am not going to repeat the names of the old gentlemen. Many of them were tyrannical, and, it seems to me, not very good, on the whole; but the period covered by your life as an ecclesiastical organization is a great period. It is full, as I have said, of precious treasures; and I wish to indicate two or three lines along which that treasure may come mightily to the support of your life here to-day.

In the first place, your history is wisdom. Men with no history are fools, and so with churches. There were brave men before the days of Agamemnon, and there were thinkers before the preachers of to-day arrived, believers in God, seers into the heart of reality, devout men, great-hearted lovers of their kind; and the sense that the past has seen the things that you have seen and grasped.

them and wielded them for the benefit of mankind, is, I think, of inexpressible value in sobering the intelligence and enlarging the mind of the progressive people of to-day.

And there is a peace about that Puritan life, owing to the depth of its faith and the greatness of the truth in which it dealt, which, I think, all our churches should remember. The Puritan spoke of God and divine sovereignty and divine decrees and eternal righteousness and heaven and hell, the great issues of the moral battle in this world. The people were held in the grasp of great truths, and this was the foundation of their peace. You go out to sea in a yacht, and it is all very well when the weather is fine; but let a north-east storm spring up, and the jumpings and the tossings of your yacht will make those on board very uncomfortable; whereas, if you are on a great Atlantic liner in that very storm, you can feel under you a steady keel. Our people to-day are going through life on little bits of yachts, cat-boats even; and in consequence there is hurry and bluster and fume and fury in their lives. What they want is the great elemental truths that the Puritan spoke and believed,—God, as we may apprehend him to-day, sovereignty as we may apprehend it to-day, universal righteousness, heaven, hell, all the great things that still surround us and constitute our moral and spiritual environment, and that appeal to our life as they did to the old Puritan. We must remember that in many respects what James Russell Lowell said is true, when we think of the elevation of the Puritan ideal

and the strenuousness of the Puritan devotion to his ideal measured against ours : — “ We are scarce our fathers’ shadows cast at noon.”

Then there is what I call the sentiment of history, which becomes life, profound, tender, true, influential, victorious, in the movements of to-day. You take this Bible. Every morning that your pastor reads the lesson from it, the accent of eight generations of serious and high-minded men and women is there. You sing the hymns that have been sung by a great body of suffering, brave, rejoicing people through all these years. Your worship, your faith, your church organization, are steeped through and through with humanity. To open your imagination to this is to allow the high, tender, human soul of history to enrich and sweeten and gladden your life. When the Bible says, O God, our fathers’ God, does it not add something to our faith in God? Does not God take on hue and color and power and majesty, as he comes through the atmosphere of our great human parentage, just as the sun is glorified as it comes up through the rich morning atmosphere or as it goes from us through the gates of evening? It is something to have God: it is something more to have our fathers’ God and our mothers’ God,—God glorified through the humanity of two hundred and fifty years. It is a mighty possession.

I think often of the first three churches of Boston,—The First Church, The Second Church, and The Third Church. They constitute an ecclesiastical aristocracy. I think of them as three ocean

liners going from the same port. The First Church started a little ahead, taking a course of its own. The Second Church started next, and took a course of its own. The Third Church sailed last of the three, in rather rough water, and took a course of its own. Each has been sailing on its own course, through sunshine and through storm, through pleasant weather and through severe weather, ever since; and, as they get toward mid-ocean, perhaps, they are out of sight of each other. They have been often out of sight of each other, and probably an accurate historic chart would show how far their courses had been apart and how little they had seen of each other for the last century. But even then the same ocean is under the keels of all three, and the same sky with its everlasting guiding lights is over all three; and the heart of each trusts the deep below and the deep above. And may we not hope that as they converge in their courses toward the same port,—and they are bound for the same port,—they will come more and more within sight of each other again? And is not this meeting a sort of flag thrown out to show that they are beginning to sight each other again, that their courses are really converging? Let us hope that for the remainder of the voyage the water may be good, and the health of the passengers good, the wisdom of the captains good, everything good. And, when we come to the close of this dispensation, may we touch some great, eternal reality, not unfittingly symbolized by the port of peace, where the three stately liners shall anchor side by side. God bless you, men and

women of The Second Church in Boston. God bless your leader and those he leads. And take, I beg you, into your hearts the large, thankful, congratulatory, loving greeting of your younger sister and neighbor, The Third Church of Boston.

THE WORK OF WOMEN.

THE morning of Monday, November 20, was allotted to the Second Church Branch of the Women's National Alliance, and the following programme was followed:—

Organ Voluntary.

Hymn 133, Colchester, 1685.

Welcome by the President Mrs. E. H. BRIGHAM

Prayer Rev. THOMAS VAN NESS

Hymn 166, Coronation, 1793.

Subject: What Women have done, in the United States, since the Founding of The Second Church in Boston:

In Literature Mrs. MARY P. WELLS SMITH

In Education Mrs. EMILY A. FIFIELD

Solo, selected Mrs. W. H. PRIOR

In Philanthropy Mrs. KATE GANNETT WELLS

In Theology Rev. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER

Hymn 21, Bethany.

Benediction Rev. EDWARD A. HORTON

At the close of the exercises an informal reception was held in the church parlor, to which all present were cordially invited.

WHAT WOMEN HAVE DONE IN LITERATURE IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1649.

BY MARY P. WELLS SMITH.

THE Second Church of Boston was founded in 1649. Girls were not admitted to the public schools of Boston until 1789, one hundred and forty years later, when they were permitted to go half the year, in summer only. Writing was not considered a necessary accomplishment for "females," even in the early part of this century. Not one woman in a dozen could write her name at the Revolutionary period. The Puritan estimate of literary women is illustrated by the account in John Winthrop's History of New England of Mr. Hopkins, "Governor of Hartford upon the Connecticut," who brought to Boston his wife, "a godly young woman and of special parts," who had lost her reason, Winthrop says, "by occasion of giving herself wholly to reading and writing." "If," he adds, "she had attended to her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her."

The love-letters of Margaret Winthrop to her hus-

band, the vivid narrative of her captivity by Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, the lively account of her perilous journey from Boston to New York by the sharp quill of Madam Sarah Knight, and other writings which have been preserved, show that our Puritan foremothers were far from destitute of native capacity. But overpowering indeed must have been the literary impulse in a woman's soul impelling her to authorship under the prevailing adverse conditions. The marvel is, not that the first century of our period shows so few authoresses, but that it records any. Yet the first person to publish a volume of verse in New England was a woman, Mistress Anne Bradstreet, the pioneer American authoress. Married at sixteen and the mother of eight children, Mrs. Bradstreet's days could hardly have been those of literary leisure. But her poems, published in London in 1650 under the title "The Tenth Muse lately sprung up in America, by a Gentlewoman in those Parts," compare favorably with others of her time. She prefaced them with these apologetic lines:—

"I am obnoxious to each carping tongue,
 Who says my hand a needle better fits.
 A Poet's pen all scorn I should thus wrong,
 For such despite they cast on Female wits.
 If what I do prove well, it won't advance,
 They'll say it's stolen, or else it was by chance."

She closes with,

"Men can do best, and women know it well.
 Pre-eminence in all and each is yours,
 Yet grant some small acknowledgment of ours."

Either her seemly humility or her social position disarmed criticism, for Cotton Mather graciously said that her poems "afforded a grateful entertainment unto the ingenious"; and Nathaniel Ward, in his poetical preface to the posthumous volume of her poems, makes Apollo exclaim, on being presented by Minerva with Mrs. Bradstreet's book:—

"I muse whither at length these girls will go.
It half revives my chill, frost-bitten blood,
To see a woman once do aught that's good;
And, chode by Chaucer's boots and Homer's furs,
Let men look to't lest women wear the spurs."

The time distracted from Mrs. Bradstreet's literary labors by her eight children cannot be deemed lost, when we know that their descendants include such illustrious names as William Ellery Channing, Joseph S. Buckminster, Richard H. Dana, and Oliver Wendell Holmes; and we can well believe that the Rev. John Norton, in his "Dirge for the Tenth Muse," did not exaggerate when he wrote of her,—

"Her breast was a brave palace, a Broad-street
Where all heroic thoughts did meet,
Where nature such a tenement had ta'en,
That other souls, to hers, dwelt in a lane."

Jane Turrell, daughter of the Rev. Benjamin Colman, wrote verse, collected after her early death at twenty-seven by her husband in a volume called "Memoirs of the Life and Death of the Pious and Ingenious Mistress Jane Turrell." Elizabeth Ferguson, of Philadelphia in 1756, when seventeen

years old, translated the whole of "Télémaque" into blank verse, as a consolation under a disappointment in love. It was never published, was perhaps discreetly "hushed up" among her friends. A literary phenomenon difficult to explain was Phillis Wheatley, a negro slave brought from Africa when eight years old, and sold in the Boston slave market. A volume of her verse published in 1773 has been pronounced "a very respectable echo of Pope." Elizabeth Singer Rowe was also an esteemed poetess of this generation, favorably alluded to by Sewall as "Philomela." Her name seems to close the list of pre-Revolutionary authoresses, unless we accept the pleasant tradition which makes Mistress Vergoose the immortal benefactress of childhood.

Women shared in the general awakening of the American intellect born of the Revolution. The first woman in this country to devote herself to a literary life was Hannah Adams. Obtaining her education alone, chiefly from reading books in her father's shop, she brought out in 1784 her first book, "Views of Religious Opinions," followed by a History of New England, History of the Jews, etc. She ranks with Belknap and Abiel Holmes as a leading historical writer of the period. We realize the deprivation suffered by a woman of literary tastes in her time, when told that all her life Hannah Adams looked eagerly forward to Heaven as a place where her thirst for knowledge might be gratified.

Abigail Adams little dreamed of ranking among

the "black swans," as she says literary women are considered, though she quotes with approval a "generous writer," who says, "To woman's natural perfections add but the perfection of acquired learning, what polite and charming creatures would they prove!" Her letters reveal a woman of sterling ability, and are invaluable as a domestic picture of the times, an inner history of the Revolution possible only to the pen of a bright woman. Her friend Mrs. Mercy Warren, by whose Plymouth fireside many political plans originated, when seventy-seven years old, wrote the first history of the Revolution, especially important as the work of a contemporary.

The first novels written in America were by women. Mrs. Susanna Rawson wrote "Charlotte Temple," a melancholy tale, wet by the tears of countless readers. Mrs. Rawson also felt obliged to appease male critics with the usual servile apologies, in these lines: —

"Know you not that woman's proper sphere
Is the domestic walk? To interfere
With politics, divinity, or law
As much-deserved ridicule would draw
On woman as the learned, grave divine
Cooking the soup on which he means to dine,
Or formal judge, the winders on his knee,
Preparing silk to work embroidery."

Mrs. Tabitha Tenney wrote "Female Quixotism; or, Extravagant Adventures of Dorcasina Sheldon," a satire on the romanticism then prevalent among young women, which had great vogue. It must

be remembered that fiction had its birth in England but little prior to this time, with Richardson's "Pamela." Another early novel was "Eliza Wharton," by Hannah W. Foster. In it, as the taste of the time demanded, the "tear of sensibility" oft shone in the eye of the hero, as he "with ardor pressed to his lips" the hand of the ever-blushing heroine. To this era belongs also Sarah Morton, styled by her friend Robert Treat Paine "the American Sappho."

The fruits of the admission of girls to the public schools were soon manifest. In the last decade of the eighteenth century were born Eliza Leslie, Maria Brooks, or "Maria del Occidente," as Southey named her, Caroline Gilman, Sarah J. Hale, Emma Willard, Hannah F. Gould, Lydia H. Sigourney, and Catharine Sedgwick. With these honored names feminine authorship in America fairly begins. Eliza Leslie was apparently the pioneer writer for children, with her stories "For Emma," "For Adelaide," etc. She wrote bright satiric sketches for *Graham's* and *Godey's*, those popular precursors of the modern magazine swarm, and edited "The Gift," the best among the annuals then so fashionable. She also wrote "The Behavior Book," a work so replete with sound sense that young girls might still learn things worth knowing from its perusal, even if they found some of its teachings slightly antiquated, as where Miss Leslie advises young ladies, when walking with their superiors, "always to go a little behind." Many a noble woman was trained on the "Be-

havior Book." Caroline Gilman wrote much and acceptably in the *Rose*, a magazine established and edited by her in Charleston, to which she later added the *Rosebud*, one of the first weekly juvenile papers in the country. Sarah J. Hale's unflagging industry made her the prototype of the modern literary worker. She edited *Godey's Ladies' Book*, wrote tales, poems, and books, and published "The Woman's Record" and "Sketches of all Distinguished Women from the Beginning till A.D. 1850," two books indicating that the apologetic period for literary women was passing. Emma Willard found time from her educational labors to write books of travel, text-books, and poems, including one not yet forgotten, "Rocked in the cradle of the deep." We can but think fondly of Hannah Gould's natural, graceful poems, so dear to childhood.

The two leading names of this period, however, for years ranking first among American authoresses, were those of Miss Sedgwick, and Mrs. Sigourney, "the American Hemans," as it was the fashion to call her. Mrs. Sigourney published fifty volumes. Her poems seldom appeal to modern taste; and we are reminded in perusing them of Mrs. Dodge's saying, that "Pegasus generally feels inclined to pace towards a graveyard the moment he feels a side-saddle on his back." But a melancholy sentimentality was the literary fashion of her time. Every one wrote pensive odes "To Tears," "To Memory," "To Melancholy," "To Twilight." J. G. Percival wrote an ode of eighty-two lines,

in one of the annuals "To Consumption," beginning,

"There is a sweetness in woman's decay."

Mrs. Sigourney's poems had immense popularity, and their pure, devout spirit helped many souls. In time-embrowned "Friendship's Offerings," it is her poems that we oftenest find scored by the faded pencil-marks of long since vanished hands.

It is unnecessary to mention "The Linwoods" and the other well-known works of Miss Sedgwick, eminently stories with a purpose. She aimed directly to help and improve the world; and her cheerful, sensible tales exerted a wide and always wholesome influence. Two literary phenomena of the early century were the Davidson sisters, whose juvenile efforts were published, and even won Southey's praise. There is a hectic flush on the poor little verses, and we are not surprised that the young poetesses laid down their lyres forever at the ages of sixteen and fourteen. Other authoresses born early in the century were Caroline Lee Hentz; Ann S. Stephens, a noted magazine writer and editor; Frances Sargent Osgood; Ellen Sturgis Hooper, who wrote for the *Dial* "I slept, and dreamed that life was beauty"; Louisa J. Hall, who wrote "Down hill the path of age? Oh, no"; Amelia Welby; Emily Judson, better known as "Fanny Forrester"; Mrs. Parton, or "Fanny Fern," whose pungent squibs originated a wave of vegetable pseudonyms; Mrs. Whitchee, the inimitable "Widow Bedott"; the voluminous Mrs. Southworth; Louisa

Tuthill; Elizabeth Ellet, author of "American Women in the Revolution"; Delia Bacon, made famous by the Baconian-Shakspeare controversy; Caroline M. Kirkland, whose keenly observant tales of Western life are still enjoyable for native humor and as pictures of what already seems an incredible past, the West, of which Dickens's "American Notes" and Mrs. Trollope's diatribe were hardly caricatures; and Susan Warner, author of those immensely popular tales, "The Wide, Wide World" and "Queechy." We mark a notable change of ideas in reading Miss Welby's poem, "The Old Maid." After our tenderest sympathies have been roused for this unfortunate, who has outlived all making life worth while, it is a shock to the modern mind to read, "It is her *thirtieth* birthday."

In 1802 was born a woman who left an impress on the world,—Lydia Maria Child, a notable writer as well as a woman of delightful personality.

"What a wealth would it bring to the narrow and sour,
Could they be as a Child but for one little hour!"

Passing briefly by her excellent stories, "Hobomok," "The Rebels," in which appeared the famous speech of James Otis, often quoted as by Otis himself, "Philothea," and the rest, we note that again was a woman a pioneer. Mrs. Child wrote the first book against slavery in this country, her "Appeal for that Class of Americans called Africans." Higginson says that the perusal of this "wonderfully clear, convincing book," with Miss Martineau's

kindred work, made him an Abolitionist. Undismayed by the decline in literary prestige and profit caused by this publication, Mrs. Child moved to New York in 1841, to edit with her husband the *National Anti-slavery Standard*. Incidentally, she wrote her "Letters from New York." She was a leader in juvenile literature, not only in her books for children, but in her popular *Juvenile Miscellany*. Her useful life extended late into the century, and she was occupied in its last years by compiling "Looking towards Sunset."

Another woman whose helpful life nearly covered the century was Elizabeth P. Peabody, to whose writings we chiefly owe the introduction of the Kindergarten System in our country, and to whose "Recollections" we are indebted for a closer view of Channing. With George Ripley she was the business manager of the *Dial*.

To the early part of the century also belongs the great name among American literary women, that of Margaret Fuller D'Ossoli. Born when feminine scholars were almost unknown, her education was the product, not of the inadequate schools of her time, but of arduous solitary labor, impelled by an innate thirst to know. She was ranked as equal friend and co-laborer by Emerson and the other intellectual leaders. She wrote editorials and literary reviews, as yet unsurpassed, for the *Tribune* under Greeley, helped introduce the study of German literature in the country, was the first editor of the *Dial*, and a leader in the Transcendental movement, that glorious New England renaissance, the

revival of the life of the spirit. Her Boston conversations may safely be pronounced the remote beginning of the woman's club movement. In writing of these proposed conversations to Mrs. Ripley, she said,—

“The advantages of a weekly meeting for conversation might be great enough to repay attendance if they only supplied a point of union to well-educated and thinking women in a city which, with great pretensions to mental refinement, boasts at present nothing of the kind, and where I have heard many of mature age wish for some such place of stimulus and cheer.”

These conversations, on such topics as the History of Religions, the Fine Arts, the Influence of Women, Ethics, Education, etc., opened a new world to women. To know the literary world of Miss Fuller's time, turn over the pages of the New York *Mirror*, edited by N. P. Willis, and note the nauseating strain of compliment to women, the doubtless well-meant but almost insulting tone of condescending patronage. “To our fair and ever-gentle countrywomen is mainly to be attributed the success of the *Mirror*,” purrs the editor. “The ladies are all constancy and devotion. We would rather cater for the edification of one fair and gentle spirit than for a host of the bearded and coated tribe.” He says of Mrs. Gilman's Southern *Rose*, “It unfolds its blushing and graceful buds in Charleston.” With infinite contempt Margaret Fuller tossed behind her these meaningless compliments, demanding that a woman's work be judged

purely on its merit as work. The writings she left are no measure of her literary rank. What she was, not what she wrote, has made her name a stimulus and inspiration to American women.

A sign of the times was the *Lowell Offering* published by the factory girls of Lowell, originating in Lucy Larcom's home, her first poems appearing in it. A collection from its pages, published in London in 1849, was well named "Mind among the Spindles." Women's minds in America were indeed awakening, not only among the spindles, but behind the needle and the broom.

There is still with us one who can say of the incredible changes our century has brought in woman's opportunities, "All of it I saw, part of it I was," — Julia Ward Howe. As lecturer, as editor with Dr. Howe of the *Commonwealth*, as a writer, she has borne noble part in uplifting, not only her sex, but humanity. It was her high privilege to voice the patriotism of a nation in her glorious "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Now, "eighty years young," her recent delightful volume of "Reminiscences" shows unabated mental force. Her contemporary, Harriet Beecher Stowe, was inspired to write the powerful story "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which wrought so mightily for the freedom of a race, which, translated into all languages, dramatized in many forms, is still, like John Brown's soul, "marching on," pleading for the down-trodden.

A little later were born such well-known writers as Maria Lowell, Caroline Cheseborough, Caroline A. Mason, Ednah D. Cheney, Elizabeth Stoddard,

Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, Mrs. Lippincott, or "Grace Greenwood," Alice and Phœbe Cary, Lucretia P. Hale, Caroline H. Dall, Lucy Larcom, Rose Terry Cooke, Margaret Preston, Julia Dorr. Some of these writers are still working on with that undiminished mental power which is the surest witness of the spirit's unending life.

By the time we reach the thirties, the list swells perceptibly; and we have such familiar names as Helen Hunt Jackson, Celia Thaxter, Charlotte Fiske Bates, Mrs. Piatt, Emily Dickinson, Harriet McEwen Kimball, Edna Dean Proctor, Louise Chandler Moulton, Marion Harland, Augusta Evans, Mary L. Booth, Margaret Sangster, Mary Mapes Dodge, Helen Campbell, Mrs. Croly, or "Jennie June," Rebecca Harding Davis, Jane G. Austin, Amelia Barr, "Gail Hamilton," Olive Thorne Miller, Kate Sanborn, Kate Field, Nancy Priest, author of "Over the River," Elizabeth Prentiss, author of "Stepping Heavenward," Amanda Douglas, Harriet Prescott Spofford, Mrs. Annie Fields, Katherine Wormeley, Elizabeth Cary Agassiz. Now, too, was born Louisa M. Alcott, the story of whose brave life struggle, as told by Mrs. Cheney, has inspired many young women. She revolutionized juvenile literature, and won that sweetest fame, the faithful love of child hearts. Said a little girl in Colorado lately, "When I go to heaven, after I have found the family, I shall hunt up Miss Alcott."

It is instructive to note, with each added decade, how surely woman's intellectual achievement has

kept pace with her educational opportunities, and how the ranks of writers swell as we go on. Precisely half a century ago, in 1850, was held the first Woman's Rights Convention, and that agitation begun which even its opponents must admit has immeasurably changed for the better the position of women. At this time, too, girls first received a high-school education. It is not strange that in this last half-century the list of successful writers has grown, until it is impossible even to mention the names of those upon whose work we should delight to dwell, did time permit. Among such names readily occurring to us are Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, Constance Fenimore Woolson, Maria Pool, Miss Woolsey, Mrs. Burnett, Mary Hallock Foote, Mary H. Catherwood, Mrs. Holley, or "Josiah Allen's Wife," Mrs. Custer, Mrs. John and Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, Mrs. Burton Harrison, Anna C. Brackett, Sarah K. Bolton, Harriet W. Preston, Emma Lazarus, Alice Williams Brotherton, Sarah O. Jewett, Mary Wilkins, Alice Brown, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Edith M. Thomas, Agnes Repplier, Margaret Deland, Miss Murfree, Laura S. Richards and Maud Howe Elliott, Alice Morse Earle, Anne H. Wharton, Sarah MacLean Pratt, Anna Bowman Dodd, Elizabeth W. Latimer, Katharine Lee Bates, Eliza Orne White, Clara Erskine Clement, "Eleanor Putnam," the Goodale sisters, Ruth McEnery Stuart, Lillian Whiting, Kate Tannatt Woods, Louise I. Guiney, Alice Stone Blackwell, Helen M. Winslow, Charlotte Perkins Stetson,

Grace Ellery Channing, Molly Elliot Seawell, Mary Johnston. The list of women who are doing good literary work in various lines extends indefinitely.

Colleges have so recently been opened to women that the fruits of university education are not yet garnered; but in every magazine and publisher's list the names of new and hitherto unknown authoresses greet us, attached to work that would once have assured the writer's fame. One is sometimes tempted to look wistfully back to Hannah More's time, when Dr. Johnson and his friends ranked literary effort by a woman with the phenomenon of a dog walking on his hind legs! Would the editors of the *Atlantic Monthly* to-day accept "Cœlebs in Search of a Wife," or the editor of the *Christian Register* eagerly jump at "Thoughts on the Manners of the Great"? It took so little to give a woman literary repute then! But, as Tennyson said to George Eliot, "Everybody writes so well now!"

Women first venturing to act as reporters for the press encountered the inevitable ridicule attending women pioneers in any new field of effort; but now many newspapers employ bright young women on their staff, and journalism is accepted as another activity open to women. There is great literary activity everywhere among our women.

The phenomenal development of women's clubs in the last quarter of the century is a sign of the times not to be overlooked. There are now two thousand women's clubs in the United States, di-

vided among thirty States, bringing a degree of intellectual culture within the range of most women, and, through women thus aroused to intellectual pleasures, benefiting whole communities. The following is only one instance of such influence. But a few years ago there was no public library in Montgomery, Ala., and almost no private ones, this dearth at the capital auguring even worse deprivation throughout the State. Now Alabama has fifty women's clubs; and their State Federation at Montgomery is sending out travelling libraries into the obscurest nooks of the State, books eagerly received and read. "Into almost colorless lives, barren of any diverting interest," says a recent report, "come these books, with a revelation of broader thinking nobler ambition, greater worlds, and perhaps, best of all, a harmless recreation."

In concluding this hasty review of woman's literary effort from the beginning of our country's history, we may ask, How much of this mass of writing will survive the test of time? Little, if any. But the same is true of all writing of the period. Happy the century that produces even one book or poem that lives! Yet this labor has not been lost. The writers have, in remarkable degree, been women of noble personality, helping the world in many ways besides with their pens. Their writings have been pure and good, breathing high aspirations. Each in her way has distinctly helped give this old, young world of ours its needed push on and up, and every woman achieving anything of worth has helped open the way for

younger workers pressing on behind. At the end of our century women at last share full intellectual opportunity. Their effort has at least borne this fruit: women have achieved a standing place. They face the twentieth century, ready to begin.

WHAT WOMEN HAVE DONE IN EDUCATION.

BY MRS. EMILY A. FIFIELD.

WHEN the committee invited a woman to speak on such a mighty subject as "What Women of the United States have done for Education during the Last Two Hundred and Fifty Years," they could not have realized what an opportunity it would afford to occupy the whole morning, to the exclusion of every other speaker.

The temptation is great to do more than generalize, so many are the delightful and interesting by-paths of history and reminiscence leading from the central topic of education.

The regulation history of the United States up to to-day contains little about the work of women in any department, but we all know that they have had a hand in affairs, all the same; and, when the history of the next century is written, both women and education will begin with capitals.

The subject naturally divides itself into two periods, before and after 1800. There is little of tradition or history to tell of the first. During the

colonial times, women as well as men were helping in the struggle for daily bread, and later in laying the foundations of the republic.

Warfare with Indians, clearing wild forest lands, the establishment of industries and constant devotion to material conditions, with no art and no literature to beautify and uplift their lives, but everything done under the shadow of a stern theology,—this is the story of the colonial period.

Yet the Colonial epoch is called the heroic period of our annals; and during these years the free church, the free school, the town meeting, became distinctive institutions. Some one has said, "Without the training of such institutions, successful colonial resistance would have been impossible; and, without New England, this training would not have been." It was the Puritan spirit which awakened the sentiment of independence, and the pioneer work of New England which secured that independence.

John Adams declared the five elements of New England civilization to be "free labor, a free church, the district school, town meeting, and training day"; and these, carried to all parts of our country, have been the foundations of American education and citizenship.

In Massachusetts as early as 1647 schools had been begun in nearly all the towns, but other States varied; and in New York as late as 1806 there were only private schools, no college, no academy, and no public schools. The teachers of the schools were men. All of them were scholars, and most of them had been clergymen. Yet younger children must

all have been taught by women, as from the earliest days we read of the dame school, already an English institution.

“The good dame, as she knits or sews or spins, listens to each child in turn as he calls the letters in their order. She tells him stories from the Bible, and strives with moral precepts to bring him up in the fear and admonition of the Lord.”

Such was Sarah Knight, who came to Norwich, Conn., in 1698, and moved to Boston early in the eighteenth century. As a famous schoolmistress, she obtained the title of Madam. She is described as a “woman of considerable distinction.” A many-sided character, she possessed to an unusual degree great energy and good education. She wrote poetry and diaries, speculated in Indian lands, and at different times, kept a tavern, managed a shop of merchandise, and cultivated a farm. In 1705 she opened a school for children, and under her instruction Dr. Franklin and Samuel Mather secured their first rudiments of education. She was highly spoken of by Dr. Cotton Mather as a “woman of good wit and pleasant humor.” This same Madam Knight in 1704 made a journey on horseback from Boston to New York to claim some property belonging to her husband. A perilous journey like this, of six days, was a tremendous undertaking for a lone woman a hundred and ninety years ago, when even men would not start on a journey of a few miles without asking for prayers before they set out; and the diary of her travels is to-day considered of importance and interest, as giving a picture of the times, the manners, and the condition of the country.

As population scattered, women were more generally employed to teach neighborhood schools for a few weeks or months at a time. For example, in Northfield, Mass., which in 1721 was far out on the frontier, the first teacher was Mrs. Elizabeth Field, the wife of the village smith. She had a class of young children twenty-two weeks in the warm season at fourpence a week. While teaching, she made shirts for the Indians at eightpence each, breeches for her husband's brother at a shilling and sixpence a pair, and cared for her four young children. This is history.

But women were not formally recognized as teachers until after the Revolution, and the education of women was very generally neglected. To quote Mrs. Abigail Adams, one of the most highly cultivated women of her time "at the close of the century, female education in the best families went no further than writing and arithmetic, and in some few instances music and dancing."

It is true that the standard of education was not high even for men. The twenty-five colleges in the United States in 1800 were little more than high schools, the graduates were few in number, and there were no libraries.

George Ticknor, writing of these early years, said that good school-books were rare even in Boston. A copy of Euripides could not be bought at any bookseller's, nor a German book be found in the college at Cambridge.

The academies, however, added to the educational advantages then to be obtained, and from the

establishment of Dummer Academy in 1761 to the present day have fulfilled an important mission. By the end of the century these academies were to be found in almost every State, both North and South. Among these was a school in Hingham founded by Madam Sarah Derby, who died in 1790, leaving the land and ample provision for the school, which in 1797 was incorporated by act of the General Court as Derby Academy.

As early as 1745 the Moravians had established schools for girls in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, and the Penn Charter School of Philadelphia admitted both sexes on equal terms. In New England among the earliest schools for girls was Dr. Dwight's Young Ladies' Academy at Greenfield, Conn., and the Medford School near Boston; but it was fifty years after the Revolution before girls acquired equal privileges with the boys in the schools of the larger towns. The Revolution gave a new impulse to many concerns, and public sentiment was changing regarding the education of women. A protest of feeling against the immense disparity between the education of boys and girls had already begun.

With the dawn of the nineteenth century three stars of the first magnitude shone out of the morning sky, and the story of girls' schools in the United States became interwoven with the lives of three women whose names and work have become historical.

Mrs. Emma Willard, who is considered a pioneer in the education of women, taught first a young

ladies' school in Vermont, and in 1821 founded the Troy Female Seminary, which was a great advance in the scope and conception of the academies of that day. This school was an unparalleled success, and has educated more than five thousand pupils.

Among other things Mrs. Willard introduced the study of physiology, and so great was the innovation that at the examination or commencement, the entire audience, shocked at the indelicacy of teaching such a subject to girls, rose and left the room. At her school also occurred the first public examination of a girl in geometry, for Mrs. Willard attached great importance to the study of mathematics.

In the year after the opening of the Troy Academy, Miss Catherine Beecher at Hartford began her higher school for young women, which for ten years was so successful that it attracted pupils from all over the Union. As teacher and author, Miss Beecher was for forty years an influential spirit in educational matters.

At the same time Mary Lyon, whose name should always be held in honor, was teaching in New Hampshire, and hoping for a school which should be to young women what a college was to young men. Together with Miss Zilpah Grant, she taught a school at Derry, N.H., and then one at Ipswich, Mass., and at last, in 1837, by patient self-sacrifice and persistent devotion, founded Mount Holyoke Seminary, the first chartered institution to hold permanent funds for the education of women.

As the colleges owed their origin to the desire of the people for learned ministers, so these schools were religious schools, with systematic Bible study and a devotional spirit pervading all the work. Beyond this, however, these schools were designed to give a solid, extensive, and well-balanced English and classical education,—for culture, and not for accomplishments.

It has been said that it is to these early seminaries that the historian must look to account for the great moral reforms of the century, which took so deep a hold on New England life. Not only did Mary Lyon send out Harriet Newell and Mrs. Judson as missionaries to the heathen, but from these schools came the strongest workers against intemperance and slavery. From them, too, was scattered the idea of the higher education of women all over the country, and from them went out hundreds of teachers into the little school-houses of the land.

As the colleges produced men of courage, trained intelligence and intellectual force, fit to be statesmen and leaders in national affairs, so these schools filled an illustrious part in the development of the moral and intellectual powers of the women of the day.

A little later in the century, two other stars appeared of wonderful brilliancy. One of these was the rare conversationist, reformer, and philanthropist, as well as teacher, Margaret Fuller, whom Emerson, Channing, and James Freeman Clarke have each honored with a Memoir. As a

teacher of languages in Boston and as principal of the Green Street School in Providence, R.I., Margaret Fuller was regarded as unusually excellent; but her great work in teaching was the conversation classes for women held in Boston, in which philosophical and social subjects were studied and discussed, and which have been regarded as the beginning of the modern movement in behalf of women's rights. She was a leader in introducing to Americans a knowledge of German literature and philosophy, and there is no doubt of the impress she made upon her generation.

Quite different was Maria Mitchell, who yet gained a world-wide reputation as teacher and student. While teaching school in Nantucket, she assisted her father, one of our early astronomers, making careful observations by herself and devoting time to the examination of *nebulæ* and comets. In 1847 she discovered a comet, for which discovery she received a gold medal from the King of Denmark. In 1865 she became Professor of Astronomy at Vassar College, later received the degree of LL.D. from Dartmouth and Columbia, and was the first woman to be elected to the Academy of Arts and Sciences. Professor Mitchell was prominent in movements tending to elevate woman's work, being President of the American Association for the Advancement of Women. Like Mary Somerville in England, she was an outpost in a new field for such advancement.

In a similar way, at a later day, Professor Ellen Richards, the first woman student at the Massachu-

setts Institute of Technology, has led the advance in woman's work in the chemical laboratory, and made it apparent that there is a sphere for women in the study of Household Art and Domestic Science.

If this paper were written to tell what has been done *for* women instead of *by* them, it would now be the time to speak of the great work of Horace Mann and other men of his period; but it must suffice to say that each year saw some social barrier and some prejudice swept away from the educational pathway, and that both men and women by their efforts and example contributed largely to this. From this time distinguished educators came, like Leonids, each leaving its trail of light.

In 1852 Mrs. Carl Schurz came to the United States, and founded among the Germans in Wisconsin a kindergarten,—“a school for young children conducted on the theory that education should be begun by gratifying and cultivating the normal aptitude for exercise, play, observation, imitation, and construction,” the function of education being to develop the faculties by arousing voluntary activity. The name was given by Friedrich Froebel, who introduced this method of training in rooms opening on a garden. Mrs. Schurz was herself “an adept in the theory, and expert in practice by attending *con amore* Froebel's own lectures and kindergarten in Hamburg.”

Through Mrs. Schurz, Elizabeth Peabody became acquainted with the kindergarten idea, and at length went to Europe to study the system for herself. She was one of the earliest as well as one of

the most persistent advocates of its merits, and was the pioneer in Boston, opening a school in 1859, which was maintained for many years. Miss Peabody's whole life was given to education. To her is due much of the highest religious, intellectual, and moral influence of Boston, as well as the wide-spread knowledge of Froebel's system.

The kindergarten was a new influence, a new institution in American education, and the interest being communicated to other cities, they, too, became centres for the work.

In 1870 Mrs. Kriege and her daughter, straight from the training school founded by Froebel, opened what has been called the first true kindergarten. A year later Miss Boelte, afterward Mrs. Kraus-Boelte, was made director of a kindergarten in New York. In this school Miss Susan Blow was a pupil, and on her graduation opened a kindergarten in St. Louis, and became a prominent leader among kindergartners.

The first kindergartens in the United States were private, but they were soon undertaken for the poor and uncared for, and the work of women in the charity kindergartens of San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston, has been immense in applying the best influences and the best teaching to the neglected classes. In this direction the remarkable work of Mrs. Quincy Shaw should be, of course, well known to all here. "In 1877 she started four schools among the poor at her own expense. The year following she opened fourteen more. All were among the laboring and poorer

classes, all free, and all an individual charity. The work extended to Cambridge, and included about thirty schools, at an annual expense of from thirty thousand to fifty thousand dollars."

This alone was a colossal enterprise to be carried on by a woman, but Mrs. Shaw's interest in education has not been confined to the kindergarten. It has been almost equally shown in all forms of manual training. In this branch of education the whole country is continually indebted to her for the training of teachers, and for the experimental investigation and trial of methods, which must always depend upon private sources.

Another name comes always to our lips in connection with the benefactions of Mrs. Shaw,—the name of Mary Hemenway, who in many ways advanced the cause of education. Mrs. Hemenway's efforts and gifts were directed to secondary rather than to primary education. Through her generosity and public spirit the teaching of sewing and cooking was introduced into public schools, and her last great work was the development of the Swedish system of gymnastics and the establishment of a Normal School of Gymnastics for the training of teachers. In 1878, having saved the historic Old South Meeting-house from destruction, she projected a plan for the encouragement of the study of American history among young people; and from this has grown the Old South educational work, which has gained such proportions.

It was Mrs. Hemenway who inspired John Fiske and James Hosmer to undertake the historical

work which will be of such great value, and her lifelong interest in American history led her to give large support to archæological expeditions and explorations in the South-west, and to work among the Zuñi Indians.

All this was related to her educational work, for the underlying motive for her interest and enthusiasm seemed always to be patriotism,—the development of the children, that America might be honored by having only loyal, upright, physically and mentally strong citizens.

The generosity and devotion of these women have only been equalled by that of Mrs. Leland Stanford, of California, who has so lately given her immense fortune to the Leland Stanford University, making it of surpassing usefulness to the whole country. Thus women have not expended all their interest upon children. They have shown that they believe in the highest culture for all, for women as well as for men.

First, as has been seen, came the girls' academies, some of which remain. This secondary training greatly increased the demand for more advanced education. Refused admission to most of the established colleges, women sought to found others for themselves. Thus the colleges wholly for girls came into existence,—Georgia Female College at Macon, a Wesleyan College in Ohio, the Mary Sharp College in Tennessee, and Elmira College in New York, while later came Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, and Bryn Mawr. Of these, one was founded by a woman, Sophia Smith. The

same demand which has produced these colleges for girls has opened the doors of some of the older colleges to women, Oberlin and Antioch being the pioneers in coeducation.

Oberlin was the college where Lucy Stone struggled so heroically for an education, where she was allowed to graduate, but not to read her own essay, and where many years after she triumphantly made an address, although still a woman! To-day, of three hundred and forty-five colleges and universities reporting to the National Bureau of Education, and exclusive of those for women alone, two hundred and four are coeducational. Of the fourteen hundred students now in Leland Stanford University, five hundred are girls.

Contemporary with the founding of Smith and Wellesley, an organization was formed by progressive women in Boston, whose aim was to aid in the more thorough education of women.

Arrangements were made with Harvard College for examinations similar to those already accorded to women by the Edinburgh, Oxford, and Cambridge Universities. After five years' experience, instruction was provided, as well as examination; and the organization was incorporated as the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women. Of this corporation, Mrs. Elizabeth Agassiz, always to be remembered in a wonderful family of educators, has been until within a few days the President; and this Harvard Annex, as it was called, has now become Radcliffe College.

There are in our country many educational

institutions supplementary to the regular school and college, such as the Chautauqua University, the Correspondence University of New York, and others similar.

One of these deserves special place in this paper. The Society to encourage Studies at Home was founded in 1873 by Miss Anna M. Ticknor, for the purpose of inducing women to form the habit of devoting some part of every day to systematic and thorough study. At one time nearly two hundred women gave their services in the instruction by correspondence, each taking some specialty. Each pupil being furnished with lists of books as well as with printed directions, and constantly communicating with the head of her department, uniformity was secured, while each student was treated individually with regard to her special needs. Many thousands have availed themselves of the opportunities afforded by this society.

The Association of Collegiate Alumnae merits recognition also, its object being to unite the women who are college graduates in practical educational work. Its members are doing more or less special and graduate work in social and sanitary science, in study of occupations for women, local histories and health statistics and other subjects covering a wide range of investigation.

Much could be said of women serving as trustees and as presidents of colleges, and filling such positions with marked ability and success.

After all, is there really any better educational work done in the United States than the common

work of the ordinary women teachers of little children? Is not theirs the formation agency, which preserves and elevates and starts on the way to perfection those who shall make our country the great and happy nation it may be? This, too, has been a growth. In spite of Miss Beecher and Mount Holyoke, women teachers were few and were most indifferently regarded till the middle of the present century. As late as 1845, in some of the New England States, not more than a dozen women teachers were employed; while to-day the great preponderance of such teachers is most marked, averaging 90 per cent. of the teaching force. These teachers, trained side by side with boys in school, graduating from the same college and normal school, have the same lofty ideals, the same professional enthusiasm as men, and perform equally well the duties they assume. All honor to the women who are making for the next century the story of what women have done for education!

As we look back over this meagre chronicle of the events of two hundred and fifty years, how short the time appears, and how great the changes.

In the beginning, girls were not thought worthy of being admitted into the day-school with the boys. Now the daughter of the family as generally enters college as the son.

The century, that began by saying that women do not need to be educated to be happy wives and good mothers, closes by declaring that, the more and better knowledge a woman has, the better wife and mother is she.

Matthew Vassar said, "As the mothers of a country mould the character of its citizens, determine its institutions, and shape its destiny, the duty and necessity of the thorough training of all their faculties seems unquestionable."

For this education the women themselves have made every effort, against tradition, prejudice, scepticism, ridicule, superstition, and the terrible apprehension that they would desert their own sphere for that of men. Time and common sense prevailed, and it has become the ruling idea of the American people that *all* shall have the opportunity for being educated into the highest type of manhood and womanhood. Men and women alike are working toward this end in the most steadfast, unrelenting way. For women the opening college doors, the professional schools, the fellowships and endowments, all show the increasing belief in their capabilities and their needs; and almost the best work of women has been to show that the highest education has not taken away the grace and charm of womanhood or tempted them to abandon domestic life or to attempt occupations for which they are not fitted. With reverent gratitude to the women of the past, who have done so much for education, and who have made it possible for a woman to speak of it in such a place and time as this, an imperfect tribute comes to an end.

WHAT WOMEN HAVE DONE IN PHILANTHROPY.

BY MRS. KATE GANNETT WELLS.

IN the time assigned me, I can but indicate lines of feminine philanthropic work, within the last two hundred and fifty years. Its progress has been steadily made from the basis of individual to that of organized work. No clearer distinction between the past and present activity is presented than this.


The philanthropic work of women began in tending the graves of the Plymouth Bay settlers, in caring for the frail, consumptive lives of our foremothers and forefathers, and in placing the burning coal in the foot-box stoves which kept the parishioners' feet warm during the long Sunday sermons. I like to think of those foot-stoves as probably the first *objective* proof of woman's philanthropy on *church* lines. Next to that came the slow development of the sewing circle; and now by your beautiful window representing Saint Dorcas you have dared to commemorate the gratitude of the church militant to the domestic, womanly implement of the needle.

The church sewing circle grew into prominence among Congregationalists long before its era began with Episcopalians, who were the seceders from Cotton Mather's authority. But it is always to be remembered that Congregational New England women were the first to maintain their separate ex-

istences from men as working forces, which to my mind indicates that it is easier to work out one's freedom in thought from dogma than from social conventions of long-established dignity. Does not this supposition account for the slow progress of organization among women, and also for the fact that the Women's Board of Missions, Orthodox Congregational, antedated all other church philanthropy undertaken on a large scale?

Minute research may reveal where sprouted in the United States the first sewing circle and hospital work of women. But at the North probably the first conspicuous result of organized sewing was visible in the garments made by Boston women for the soldiers under General Braddock, when our great-great-grandmothers offered their services with needle and thread and scissors to the town authorities.

Certainly from this time women's activities for others began to move on co-operative lines; while at the South philanthropy still was conducted on personal terms, though far back run the honorable records of the brave French Huguenot women of the Carolinas. Certainly, no Northern women ever displayed more steady purpose in alleviating distress, in managing large numbers of dependants, in organizing work and supplies, than did the mothers, wives, and daughters of Southern planters, the evils of slavery being greatly lessened by their philanthropies. Among them Eliza Pinckney was notable, also was the first American woman who utilized the products of her own industry into a



national business over one hundred and fifty years ago. She not only took care of her husband's and father's estates, but introduced reforms in agriculture, especially in the cultivation of indigo, which, until she raised it, was unknown in this country, and which, through her agency became an enormous Southern product, though later it was supplanted by cotton. She stands out from among the colonial and Revolutionary women in this manner of business philanthropy in contrast with Catherine Schuyler and other Northern and Southern women, whose intense personal family life enabled their husbands to place their whole strength at the disposal of their country. Such domestic intensity must, however, be again contrasted with the household life of to-day, which has had its drudgery lessened by machines, inventions, bake-shops, etc., that have permitted women to have leisure for outside occupations.

Between the later typical Northern and Southern women should be put the Quaker women, who with the Quaker men made the great success and energy of the Central West, when they migrated thither from the South, after the invention of the cotton gin and Nat Turner's rebellion had caused a reaction in favor of slavery. Next to the group of Revolutionary women came these self-denying Quaker women, who housed the huge yearly gatherings of their faith and also made the abolition of slavery their philanthropic cause.

As we approach the beginning of the nineteenth century, we find in Boston the clearest traces of the

coming era of organization. The historic reason for this lies in the two different influences which moulded Northern and Southern life. At the South, State government was in the line of Norman influence, to which can be directly traced Calhoun's later attitude of belief in State sovereignty. Transfer that theoretical position to woman's limited activities, and we have the years in which each one's house and plantation was the orbit in which she moved.

I know my historical leaps are wide, but my present moments are few. To return to my argument, at the North,—in New England, surely,—government was produced through an association of townships. Therefore was it natural that there women should first enter upon organization on the basis of association. From individual care for the individual fatherless and widowed people to sewing circles in the church, there came in 1800 organized care for them outside of church lines; and thus the Boston Female Asylum became the fourth charitable society of Boston and the *first founded by women*. Woman had broken away from theologic control, and aspired to plant her deeds of benevolence on a city's needs.

In 1816, the sewing circle idea still dear to her, she founded the Fragment Society, which exists to-day, with its warm friendliness, its bounteous suppers, and its Bible reading. In the same year was established the Widows' Society, in connection with which we join the beloved name of Ann Williams, who is yet with us to be honored; and in

1847 came the Needlewoman's Friend Society, still beneficent and large in its operations. From those days onward, till within the last twenty years, philanthropy was conducted through increasing church enterprises. The sewing circle of ladies became converted into a gathering of cutters, while others did the sewing, and the sale of garments supervened. Church philanthropy thus began to be conducted on a business rather than on a charitable basis, though now the Needlework Guild of America spreads its charity abroad, reaching individuals, however, only through garments given first to an organization.

Then opened the business of fairs; and shopkeepers entered their protests at these amateur transactions, which lessened their receipts. Fairs still remain, and hard to find is the woman who has neither the hardihood to make for a fair table, nor to buy at one.

There are two shining contrasts to this consolidation of philanthropy on church lines. They are,—you all know them,—first, the Sanitary Commission, which made it right to sew and pack on Sundays. The result of its formation was the arousing of a spirit of patriotism North and South which brought the whole womanhood of the country into two opposing camps for the one object,—to relieve distress. That Commission was the harbinger of the peace which should never again be broken by sectional animosities. The other contrast is that of the anti-slavery organization whose work reads like idyls of self-sacrifice and glowing friendships.

Begun in individual acts, largely continued in that way, it yet spread out into organization, above and under ground, and helped at least to bind woman to woman in stronger bonds than those of creed.

With all the loving service of that Commission, there was another healing charity exclusively feminine. The first *hospital* and *dispensary* for women was established by Drs. Elizabeth and Emily Blackwell and Dr. M. E. Zakrzewska in New York City, its charter being obtained in 1854. It was first opened in 1857, women physicians only in attendance. In 1854 also, in consequence of a journey of Dr. Zakrzewska to Philadelphia to obtain funds for her "New York Infirmary for Indigent Women," there was established in the Quaker City a hospital by women, for women, in connection with the Pennsylvania Medical College for Women. In 1859 Dr. Zakrzewska organized a hospital department in connection with the New England Female Medical College in Boston, which was soon given up, and the New England Hospital for Women and Children in this city organized in 1862. To these hospitals is related a long retinue of philanthropies: the training of nurses and attendants; the supporting of convalescent homes; the caring for unmarried women and their babies; district nursing; diet kitchens; cooking-schools; domestic service remedies; etc. All have grown naturally out of the first woman's hospital. All are organizations for women, conducted by women. What individual initiative started has been maintained and strengthened by organization. Therefore, next to fairs in

the stage of development should be put hospital work: only let it be remembered that, while we Protestant women were struggling out of the little whirlpools of individual philanthropy, Catholic women were serving humanity in organized sisterhoods, and were far ahead of us Protestants in concentrated philanthropies.

Very, very slowly in this country came individual — still less, organized — prison work. What there is to-day is done conjointly with men, though the Reformatory Prison for Women in Massachusetts was under a woman, Mrs. Ellen C. Johnson, long its honored superintendent, her administration being one of rare financial and reformatory success. A joint commission of men and women, however, superintended it. Alongside of these dawning institutions crept in organized work by visiting the poor outside of church districts. Then was it that philanthropy showed itself free from sectarianism. More and more has the visiting become the work of women, first through the Provident Institution, and then through the Associated Charities, established in 1879. Women have had much to do (and notable among them in this direction is Mrs. James T. Fields) in bringing philanthropy into the service of civil polity in this the first conscious, broad attempt to unite all the helpers of a city in a concerted, permanent enterprise for the benefit of all.

From this time onward the record of service to others was almost in ways of competition at North and South and West, each place having its salient features of achieving the same end. As a psycho-

logical problem, it is interesting to note that orthodox women turned to rescue work for so-called unfortunate women sooner than Universalist or Unitarian women, who have, on the other hand, first developed educational philanthropy. But I must not touch on education: that department was assigned to-day to another most fitted to deal with it. The coming ages alone will show whether all education is philanthropy or all philanthropy is education.

The next stage in philanthropy among women, its possibility largely growing out of the spirit of co-operation, is the club movement, beginning with the New England Club and the New York Sorosis, which I claim for philanthropy, as it also may be partly claimed for education. I will not enlarge upon it, for its enormous moral impulse in uniting the capacities of womanhood for work is as well known as its increasing tendency to labor for the benefit of others rather than for its own intellectual or social pleasure.

Most fitting is it that a Southern woman should be president of the Federation of Clubs, a movement of all women, and that a Western woman has been president of the International Council, since empire moves westward.

In connection with the club movement, most honorable mention should be made of the organization of the Working-girls' Clubs. They, too, are becoming national in their interchange of purposes and convictions.

What would Dorothy Hancock have done if, when

she wished to send her maids to milk anybody's cow on Boston Common, there had been no maids to summon, as they had gone to a Federation meeting? These clubs are lessening the imaginary social differences in occupation, and are the organized refrain of Burns's song, "A man's a man for a' that," as man is the generic term for the beautiful species, woman.

With the club movement should also be correlated that of the college settlements, a wide-spreading uprising of the better self in education. The distinctive adjective was soon dropped as too narrow; but the open spirit that actuated it remains, as it is culture offering itself to all the various opportunities of philanthropy working through education, the first large distinct recognition by women of this union of forces. With the organization of clubs and college and social settlements we enter upon the extension of philanthropy into State and national aspects, since the Sanitary Commission as a national work expired with the war.

In such national woman's work should be ranked first, at least in magnitude, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The "earnest, impetuous, inspired" praying bands of 1873-74 have become the unions, "firm, patient, and persevering." The home has been the starting-point and the focus, the cause and result, the means and the end, for which its millions of members work for others by thousands of agencies. Less in extent, but noble and valiant in service, are the Young Women's Christian Associations and the Women's Unions

and Exchanges (such as we here are familiar with on Boylston Street, incorporated in 1880), having for their aim, irrespective of religious tests, the purpose of fellowship among women and the promotion of practical methods for securing their educational, social, and industrial progress.

Such unions are eminently philanthropic, are spreading all over the country, are liberalizing creeds, and are to be reckoned with as one of, if not the broadest application of the theories of philanthropy to practical dealings with life.

And, if woman's love for the beautiful was the irresistible impulse that drove her into artistic philanthropy, certainly the higher requirements which are now demanded for all art work, from patchwork quilts to china painting, embroidery and tapestry, have added to woman's income; and anything that does that is philanthropy.

Around these larger philanthropies of the unions cluster groups of independent centres, employment bureaus and industrial schools.

Within fifteen years another division of philanthropy has been set off. Summer playgrounds, vacation schools, women's gymnasiums, country weeks and picnics, flower missions,—almost all have been started by women, for women and children. Some are independent organizations offered by women, others are connected with previously established agencies for doing good, some are working under city or school control; but all are bringing to the summer season glad hosannas of joy that vacation has come, and country pleasures are to strengthen

mind and body. This radiant work, too, is brightening into national repute as one playground sends its joyous echoes far out into another. Women can't help caring ever to make children happy. This great various playground work can be counted as the crowning joy of her motherhood of hospitality.

Lastly, we come to the legislative division of philanthropy. Under this are included the pro- and anti-suffrage organizations; for whether or not one is a suffragist the work is a woman's work, begun by the pro-suffragists on as honest lines of philanthropy as ever actuated any woman to work for another, and has become national. Also, all the work that women are now doing in the service of the State, city, town, on various State and city boards and committees. None of it is paid, but it is done gladly as woman's contribution to her country's needs. There is scarcely a large institution anywhere which does not count women among its managers on an equality with men. Surely, the bygone days of home usefulness alone have bloomed into a great beauty of wide, beneficent action. This legislative national stage of philanthropy embraces Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and all other women. The first National Council of Jewish Women was held in November, 1896, in New York; and their convention revealed a large number of helpful facts in their renderings of philanthropy. And what shall be said of the immense moneyed contributions of women? They cannot be computed, for they cannot include the amounts of that self-denial which

has made it possible for the widow's mite to be reckoned on as financial aid. The widow and Helen Gould are alike philanthropists; yet it was but fifty years ago, said Mrs. Robinson, in her book on Lowell life, that women *first* spent their own money earned by themselves.

Philanthropy, begun in the individual ministrations of the women of Plymouth Bay, widened into church work of sewing circles and visiting the sick, from that into channels of raising money for the needy by fairs, and of gradual working outside of credal connections into helping the city or town poor. Then came the fuller development of organization, until national associations were welded together out of local ones, these, in turn, circling the globe with their international forces, like the International Council of Women. With all the ardor and imagination that have gone into the compounding of these philanthropic relations has been coupled the *forethought* by which women have brought legislative aid to assist them, and have themselves become the nation's councillors.

Would that I had time to note the hundreds of women who have been leaders in effecting these marvels!

Let me mention seven, as they serve to show the evolution that has slowly been working its way toward something forever to be better than what has been, no matter how great was that past.

Anne Hutchinson,— I name her first, as standing for philanthropy through spiritual forces; Catherine Schuyler, as the type of those women who thought

by serving their home best they served their country most; Eliza Pinckney, who taught that to increase the industries of a Nation was philanthropy; Lucretia Mott, who brought freedom to the slave; Dorothea Dix, who by knowing how to manage legislatures brought relief to the insane; Mary Hemenway, who gave her wealth to foster philanthropy by increasing practical applications of education and to strengthen patriotism; Frances Willard, whose temperance included the prohibition of everything which did not conduce to the highest welfare of State and home.

Each of these women with their countless hosts of followers, who chose as exemplar that woman whose methods they liked best, worked from the internal development of her soul to the external marshalling of her strength for the varied forms of philanthropy. Not one ever forgot she was a woman because she was a philanthropist. None ever laid aside the basic principle of individualism in the scope for organization. The personality of each has passed into the nation's keeping, since each was true, first unto herself, and then accomplished her purposes by subordinating self unto the good of all.

From the individual to organization, from one's church to one's country, has the quest of philanthropy hastened; and Increase Mather, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Thomas Van Ness, each says that the woman whom he knew best, best served the Lord.

WHAT WOMEN HAVE DONE IN THEOLOGY.

BY REV. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER.

THE contribution made by women to the church life of thought and of effort in America since this Second Congregation of Boston was formed cannot be sketched, even slightly, without allusion to two events which preceded that one; namely, the arrival of Anne Hutchinson from England in 1634 and the beginning of her ministry in Boston shortly after, and the first synod, or "Assembly," of the Church in New England, which was held in Newton in 1637. Anne Hutchinson, whom Governor Winthrop, who did not like her, called a "woman of a ready wit and a bold spirit," believed that "the power of the Holy Spirit dwells in every believer," and that the inward revelations of the Spirit were of supreme authority; and she therefore felt no need for ecclesiastical sanction for her preaching. Winthrop tells us that she held "two dangerous errors: first, that the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person; and, second, that no sanctification can help to evidence to us our own justification." Whether her errors of theology or her sex had most to do with her persecution by the "teaching elders and magistrates" of New England we cannot now say, but her sex furnished a convenient weapon against her continued ministrations. We read that the Newton Assembly of 1637 was "attended by all the teaching elders throughout the

country and many new come from England," and that it spent the first days of its deliberations in defining and condemning over "eighty erroneous opinions now taught in the Colonies," and that it placed prominently among these the peculiar tenets of Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers. This, we are told, "offended some from Boston," who departed to come no more. The last day of this Assembly was given wholly to the discussion of the question of women's preaching, and of the rights of the laity, especially of those differing from the majority of the Church in points of doctrine. The following "Resolve" was passed: "That, though women might meet, some few together, to pray and edify one another, yet such a set assembly, as was then the practice at Boston, where sixty or more did meet every week, and one woman, in a prophetic way, by resolving questions of doctrine and expounding Scripture took upon her the whole exercise, is agreed to be disorderly and without rule." That is to say, it was decided that it was proper to hold a small "female prayer-meeting," but that a congregation of women met to listen to one woman was an unlawful body.

The power of the woman against whose preaching this "Resolve" was aimed cannot be denied; for we are told that the dispute between her followers and her opposers "impressed its spirit into everything." It interfered with the levy of troops for the Pequot War; it influenced the respect shown to magistrates, as when in this first Assembly some of the Boston delegates boldly de-

clared that "magistrates had no place in a meeting of Church members, and they should not yield obedience to them in religious concerns"; it even entered into the distribution of town lots, the assessment of rates, and other secular affairs. So that we read of a formidable number of men "ordered disarmed" because of this religious dispute, nearly sixty of them "men of Boston, beside goodly numbers belonging to Salem, Newberry, Roxberry, Ipswich, and Charlestown." The order in the Colony Record reads as follows:—

"Whereas the opinions and revelations of Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson have seduced and led into dangerous errors many of the people here in New England, insomuch as there is just cause of suspicion that many of these upon some revelation may make some sudden irruption upon those that differ from them in judgment, for prevention of this it is ordered that 'these men,' etc., be disarmed."

The great Cotton and Sir Harry Vane supported Mrs. Hutchinson, as well as many others of importance, besides the "Mr. Wheelwright" who was her brother, and whom Governor Winthrop speaks of with some contempt as "a sometime silenced preacher of England." It is claimed that at one time all but five members of the Boston Church were her followers. But this did not save her from "severe dealings"; and she was, as we all know, "publicly admonished," and finally "banished from the Massachusetts Colony." Her admonishment consisted of a lecture "lasting from ten o'clock in

the morning until eight at night," which was interspersed with her own replies, in which, as Winthrop says, "she held her own, and carried her sons with her, so that they had to be admonished also." As it had already been clearly shown that her "husband was wholly influenced by her," it would seem that this first woman minister of America was held in high esteem by the members of her own household. Her banishment from Massachusetts gave a great help to Rhode Island in the direction of "soul liberty;" and her preaching laid an important foundation for the sect of Quakers, who were, and still are, the finest expression of woman's influence in theology and in the religious life which the Christian Church has shown. When in 1656 the Quakers first made their appearance in New England, it was in the persons of two women, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin; and there was great excitement when the news of their arrival reached the ears of the General Court. That body ordered "a day of humiliation to seek the face of God in behalf of our native country in reference to the abounding errors, especially those of the Ranters and Quakers." The two women were cast into prison until the shipmaster could return them to Barbadoes; but they were but the first of a mighty host of heretics against whom many peculiar and severe penalties were aimed, not only by the General Court of Massachusetts, but by the authorities of Connecticut and New Haven. Among these Quakers of greatest note were Annie Burden and Mary Dyer, the latter hanged on Boston Common

in 1660, and declaring with her latest breath, "In obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in His will I abide faithful to the death."

Some of the early Friends, or Quakers, behaved in a strange manner, it is true, testifying by unseemly words and deeds to their sense of spiritual direction by "the inner light." But the sect from the first placed men and women on an equality, and all classes of every social grade as well, and can boast of many godly and effective preachers of both sexes. Among these we may give high place to Sybil Jones, the minister to souls in prison, of American as Elizabeth Fry was of English birth; and to our own Lucretia Mott, the Benjamin Franklin and William Lloyd Garrison combined among American women. Lucretia Mott was not only a perfect union of domestic virtue and social helpfulness, but she was one of the greatest leaders of either sex in the application of rational thought to religious concerns. Of the foundation of the "Hicksite," or Unitarian, branch of the sect of Friends, she said, "At twenty-five years of age, surrounded by a little family and many cares, I felt called to a more public life and devotion to duty, and engaged in the ministry in our society, receiving every encouragement from those in authority until a separation from us in 1827, when my convictions led me to adhere to the sufficiency of the light within us, resting on truth as authority rather than taking authority for truth." When the Free Religious Society of America was formed, in the attempt to unite men and women for the study of

Truth and the unity of religious Faith under all differing symbols of religious dogma, its chosen motto was "Truth for Authority, not Authority for Truth"; and it thus linked its purpose with Lucretia Mott's simple creed, as it claimed her for one of its original and official members.

There are now about three hundred and fifty women preachers in the Society of Friends. As the years have gone on since this old Second Church was founded, the sects have multiplied and increased in our America; and the entrance of women into their recognized and public service has been in inverse ratio to the ecclesiasticism of the body and in almost exact proportion to its congregationalism (or democracy) of polity. As in the old Assembly of 1637 the rights of the laity and the separation of Church and State were most insisted upon by those who supported Mrs. Hutchinson in her right to give "two lectures a week with an attendance of eighty or more persons," so, in the course of history since that time the claim of the church body to be the seat and source of church power has been intimately bound up with the entrance of women into positions of trust and leadership in the administration of church affairs. We will briefly consider the growth of women's initiative in church matters as related to the different sects in their gradations from a hierarchy to a democracy.

The Roman Catholic Church has a recognized, honored, and most useful place for consecrated womanhood, and, it must be remembered, first gave women a social career in the early days of the

Christian Church. But it must be a celibate womanhood, removed from all the ordinary duties and offices of the mother sex. The Protestant Episcopal Church has increasingly given to women a field for distinctive work by the establishment of two deaconess orders and fourteen sisterhoods and a religious Order of Widows. The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of 1889 provided that every candidate for the office of deaconess, before she is set apart, shall have had "an adequate preparation for her work, both technical and religious, which preparation shall cover the period of two years"; and in 1890 the Grace House Training School for Deaconesses was established in New York. The deaconesses of this Church, although devoted to philanthropic work for the most part, are a great source of strength to their denomination. The Methodist Episcopal Church, of which Susanna Wesley has been called "the real founder," owes its introduction into this country to a woman, Barbara Heck, as much as, if not more, than to its first preacher in America, Philip Embury; for Mrs. Heck, landing in New York in 1760, with Mr. Embury, who was her cousin, and feeling deeply concerned because he did little or nothing for the first five years of his residence to hold together and increase the Wesleyans who came with them, herself started the first "class meeting" by a "lively testimony against card playing," which consisted of burning the cards, and insisting that Embury enroll herself and four other persons as a regular "class." It was she

who furnished the plans for the first Methodist chapel, which took the place of the old "rigging loft," which was the original home of the Wesleyans in this country. In spite of these facts, however, and notwithstanding the freedom of prayer and speech always allowed women in the class meetings, the class leaders are all men; and women are as yet denied full ordination to the Methodist pulpit. Women, however, were at one time "licensed" as "exhorters" by the Methodist Episcopal Church; and under that name some women achieved great power as evangelists. But when those licenses were revoked, and the semi-ministerial class abolished, the logical next step of ordaining these women who had already "verified their credentials" was not taken. The movement to remove the sanction of the Church from the class called "licensed exhorters" was not aimed against women preachers, but rather against illiterate men, and in the interest of a more dignified, learned, and united preaching class. It was applied, however, in a way to do great injustice to women, and has given the demand of the Methodist women for official recognition in the ministry of their Church a sting of protest against actual wrong which has no such basis in fact in any other communion.

The Primitive Methodists have always used women preachers as evangelists, especially among the more depraved classes, and this was one of the points of difference between them and the main body which caused the separation; while the Ger-

man Methodists, or "United Brethren in Christ," have ordained many women elders and some women "circuit riders" of the original Methodist style.

The German Lutheran Church has discussed the question of women's preaching, in a synod held in 1891 and later several times, and decided that women must not teach in the Church at all, either in the pulpit or the congregation. Yet those who witnessed the vigor and ability of the German Lutheran women at their denominational congress at the World's Parliament of Religions, and marked the large number and well-organized variety of their special women's activities, realized that some effective "teaching" is already done by the women of that Church; and as early as 1849 this Church introduced the Order of Deaconess into this country, and America has now at Philadelphia the finest "mother-house" in the world for the training and work of the Lutheran deaconesses.

The Presbyterian Church, although for many years excluding women from all voice in church devotion or government, has for some time allowed them to take part in prayer-meetings, and even sometimes to speak at regular meetings and synods on missionary or philanthropic topics; and at a synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, held in 1889, it was voted by a majority of ninety-three to twenty-four that the ordination of a woman as deacon is "in harmony with the New Testament and the Constitution of the Apostolic Church." Of the congregational bodies, although the Calvinist Baptists exclude women from the ministry,

the Free Baptists are conspicuous in their official recognition of women preachers, the General Conference of that body having adopted in 1886 the following resolution: "That intelligent, godly women, who are so situated as to devote their time to the ministry, and desire to be ordained, should receive such indorsement and authority as ordination involves, provided there are no objections other than the matter of sex." The number of Free Baptist women ministers is large, and growing all the time.

The Trinitarian Congregational body, although giving official recognition to the first ordained woman minister in America, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, early in the fifties, and although opening its college at Oberlin, even to its Divinity Department, "both to women and negroes," in days when both classes were equally excluded from most halls of higher learning, and although its system of church government has made it possible for each church to choose freely its own minister and mode of ordination, has never given the welcome to women preachers that the Free Baptists have extended. The opening of the Hartford Theological Seminary, however, and the general employment of regularly sanctioned women missionaries in foreign lands, and the almost universal welcome given women who bear special messages of social betterment to leading pulpits of the Orthodox Congregational body, all show a strong movement within it toward full equality of opportunity to men and women.

The Unitarian Congregationalists, in setting up housekeeping for themselves, did not much enlarge the sphere of feminine service in the church, having refused as late as 1860 to admit women to the theological school at Meadville, and even now shutting out its daughters "who would prophesy" from the training of the Harvard Divinity School, except under difficult conditions. Ten years after its refusal to admit Olympia Brown, Meadville opened its doors to women students with full and generous privilege; and considerably more than twenty women have been graduated there, and achieved successful work in the ministry.

The Universalist denomination was the first to admit women to exactly equal training for the ministry, and naturally has to-day the largest number of women preachers "in good and regular standing" of any sect except the Friends, having over sixty in 1895. The Unitarian pulpits, however, have had occasional ministration from many noted women, who are, like Julia Ward Howe, "born preachers," but not exclusively devoted to church work. And perhaps such occasional preaching has given as much impetus to the sect in which it has been most conspicuous, and has as well illustrated the newly developed moral and intellectual initiative of women, as the more regular ministration of women in some other sects.

The duties of the Christian ministry, as they have been interpreted and practised by women in our country, have proved compatible with high devotion to family life and successful administration

of household affairs, and many of our best known and ablest women ministers have been wives and mothers; while in the Unitarian ministry, especially where young and single women have entered upon the work of church leadership, they have often prevented any possible criticism or misunderstanding on the part of the socially fastidious or conservative by following the example of the apostles and "going out two by two." In that way two women friends have often not only served their church with a double ministry, but, by making a refined and attractive home life for themselves, demonstrated the social safety and dignity possible in the ministerial profession. And, where a young single woman has undertaken a church leadership alone, it has often been with the help and protection of her mother or sister or some older friend, who stood to her life and work in the relation of the "minister's wife" to the man preacher in charge of a parish.

The office of a "teaching elder," to use the fine old phrase, has already proved especially congenial to women of the idealizing faculty, and also to those gifted in social organization. In those simpler forms of church order in which the sacramental service is supplanted by the teaching function, and the ministrations of a friend and helper and instructor are alone required, there has been found a noble field for their devotion. The ministerial profession has proved also more harmonious with the domestic and social relations of a completed womanhood (one including wifehood and motherhood in its range of experience and duty), than has

either the law or medicine or a business career, as these are ordinarily practised. For the ministry, like art, literature, and other forms of teaching, profits rather than loses by periods of quiet reflection in pauses of active work, and thus falls in well with the periodicities of the married woman's life. Moreover, the cumulative power of personal influence (which is the distinguishing feature of the "teaching elder's" work) suggests long residence in one place, regular duties performed near the home, and a slow development of public service, all consonant with the best interests of family life. As ordinary pastoral work is more and more seen to be merely a part of teaching, and as the services of the few great preachers (among whom doubtless will be always found some women) are more and more conserved for the benefit of the whole church body by a better business administration of church affairs, the place of the cultured but not extraordinary woman in the profession will be doubtless much enlarged, and in consequence the relation of the pastoral office itself to other forms of teaching and philanthropic work better outlined.

Finally, mention must be made of the part women have played in the birth of new sects during the last two hundred and fifty years. The Shaker sect, as is well known, is the outgrowth exclusively of a woman's leadership, "Mother Ann Lee," of England, in 1770, as a member of the Society of Friends, professing to receive a special revelation which declared her the "Christ of the female order," her followers receiving her as "God

revealed in the character of mother, the bearing Spirit of all creation." In 1774 she took nine of her disciples to America, and began in New York State the community life which has been such a marked feature of the Shakers' faith. The essential doctrines of this sect, human brotherhood reaching to a complete community of goods, non-resistance, non-participation in secular government, strict celibacy, and perfect chastity, and the remarkable pecuniary success of the Shaker settlements, together with the strength of devotion which has bound so many men and women together in so strait a way of life, prove great power in the original impulse started by "Mother Ann." The essential difference in social and domestic ideals between the Shaker sect, founded by a woman, and the Quaker sect, so largely the fruit of woman's influence, on the one side, and those of the Mormon sect and of the Oneida Communists, which were the outgrowth of purely masculine leadership, on the other side, suggest to the student of comparative sex-development some curious points of investigation. The Salvation Army, like its prototype, early Methodism, is quite as much the outgrowth of woman's devotion and initiative as of man's, and is a remarkable instance of a union of husband and wife in a movement of world significance. And although this movement is not American, but English, the branching sect now identified wholly with American life is led by that most engaging and persuasive of women preachers, Mrs. Ballington Booth, quite as much as by her loyal husband.

The Spiritualist sect is marked by especially feminine features, some, of course, not of the highest type of sex-differentiation, since, whatever may be the substrata, the outward manifestations of that faith are intimately associated with certain nervous conditions in which women (and men of semi-artistic and semi-invalid temperament) show the most striking powers of sensitive response to outward influence. The latest religious sect called "Christian Science," was founded by a woman, and is especially American, and now in its first flush of youthful enthusiasm.

The official work of women in the Church, however, either as ministers or as sect-makers, is not the chief contribution of women to church life and activity during the two and a half centuries. The great work of women in this particular has been accomplished in the lay membership of the Christian Church, in the moulding of its standards and ideals as conceived and realized in the personal life, and in the practical achievements of the Church as an uplifting social force. The great body of the Christian Church is of the mother-sex. The great sacrificial services of the Church have depended in large measure upon women for their fulfilment, if not for their initiative. In the sorry record of the sins and weaknesses and failures of the Church, women have had large share; and in its high usefulness they can claim—in numerical force, at least—a larger portion than can men. The great question now is, not, What are women free to do in and for the Church? but, *How can we secure and keep any men in it to do anything?*

It is an absurdity and one still witnessed, so slow is human growth, to withhold any place in the church offices from women, since they are the great constituency and dependence of the religious body, and have now opportunities of training for all responsible positions of leadership. But the great and pressing problem in the more enlightened portions of the religious body is that of winning back to the support of this time-honored institution (which we cannot yet believe outgrown) the active, earnest, and general devotion of the best and wisest men. Such men as Winthrop and Endicott and Dudley and Willoughby, and the Plymouth worthies, and all the greatest men of Massachusetts Colony, — these gave the vigor and force of the church life in the days of history this old Second Congregation has witnessed and of which it has been a part. If our descendants are to celebrate the five hundredth anniversary of the founding of The Second Church in Boston, there must be deeper devotion and more universal allegiance to the Church on the part of men than there is now. The present problems in religious concerns force the conviction upon the thoughtful that the Church as an institution must be changed radically, in some as yet unknown ways, in order to fit it to a social order which has already changed radically from the conditions surrounding the Puritan of New England. To many of us it is clear that the peculiarly practical and flexible genius of womanhood "has come into its kingdom" of moral and intellectual initiative in the Church "for such an hour as this."

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SECOND 'CHURCH IN AMERICA.

THE service of Monday evening was devoted to addresses on the influence of The Second Church in America. As a part of the service of this evening, the conductor and choir of the church rendered the "Hymn of Praise" of Mendelssohn, assisted by the soloists and members of a chorus whose names are given below.*

The Order of Service of this evening, as originally proposed, is given in full. The addresses by his Excellency Governor Wolcott and President Eliot were necessarily omitted. The chairman of the Standing Committee presided, and introduced the speakers.

Hymn of Praise, Op. 52 . . . Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy.
(For Orchestra, Chorus, and Soloists.)

SYMPHONY.

Maestoso con moto, Allegro, Allegretto un poco agitato, Adagio religioso.

* *Conductor*, Mr. H. G. Tucker. *Soloists*: Mrs. Marian Titus, soprano; Miss Bertha W. Swift, soprano; Mr. B. W. Hobbs, tenor; Mr. J. H. Ricketson, tenor. *Organist*, Mr. G. W. F. Reed. *Orchestra* of thirty players, Mr. Isidor Schnitzler, principal. *Chorus*: soprano: Miss Mary B. Anderson, Miss Louise Baum, Miss Eleanor M. Colleton, Mrs. R. G. Harris, Miss Mara V. Hastings, Miss Alice Hutchinson, Miss Edith G. Mason, Miss M. deV. Mitchell, Miss Bertha W. Swift, Miss E. P. Syer, Mrs. Marian Titus, Miss E. M. Tuckerman, Miss Grace E. White; alto: Mrs. M. A. Brewer, Mrs. Louise B. Brooks, Miss Mary E. Burroughs, Miss Jennie Hayes, Mrs. H. C. Lewis, Mrs. Edith MacGregor Woods, Miss L. T. Murphy, Mrs. Fanny Holt Reed, Mrs. H. K. Sanborn, Miss Louise Schroeder, Mrs. Anna von Rydingsvard; tenor: Mr. Stephen Alta, Mr. C. F. Atwood, Mr. L. E. Black, Mr. E. P. Boynton, Mr. Charles Chase, Mr. Henry B. Coughlan, Mr. James F. Harlow, Mr. B. W. Hobbs, Mr. H. M. Murdough; bass: Mr. George M. Brooks, Dr. A. N. Broughton, Mr. Charles H. Hillman, Mr. C. W. Cole, Mr. Hobart E. Cousens, Mr. G. W. Dudley, Mr. John S. Kilby, Mr. W. B. Phillips, Dr. Mark W. Richardson. *Orchestra* selected by Mr. Carl Behr.

CANTATA

(Chorus and Soprano Solo).

"All men, all things, all that has life and breath, sing to the Lord.
Praise thou the Lord for his great loving-kindness."

Introductory Remarks **STEPHEN M. CROSBY.**

Address. "The Influence of The Second Church in America."
(a) "In Government."

HIS EXCELLENCY ROGER WOLCOTT,
Governor of Massachusetts.

Tenor Solo. "Sing ye praise."

Recitative. "He counteth all your sorrows."

Chorus. "All ye that cried unto the Lord."

Bust and Chorus. "I waited for the Lord."

Address. "The Influence of The Second Church in America."
(b) "In Education."

CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL.D.,
President of Harvard University.

Tenor Solo.

"The sorrows of death had closed all around me. But, said the Lord,
come, arise from the dead, awake thou that sleepest, I bring thee
salvation."

Recitative. "Watchman, will the night soon pass?"

Soprano Recitative. "The night is departing."

Chorus.

"The night is departing. The day is approaching. Let us cast off
the works of darkness. Let us gird on the armor of Light."

Address. "The Influence of The Second Church in America."
(c) "In Literature."

FRANCIS G. PEABODY, D.D.,
*Plummer Professor of Christian Morals
in Harvard University.*

Offering.

Chorale. "Let all men praise the Lord."

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY 147

Duet. (Soprano and Tenor.) "My song shall be alway thy mercy."

Address. "The Influence of The Second Church in America."
(d) "For Religious Independence."

REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.

Chorus.

"Ye nations offer to the Lord glory and might. Oh, give thanks to the Lord."

Congregational Hymn. "America."

Benediction.

Blessed Amen.

OPENING ADDRESS.

BY STEPHEN M. CROSBY.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Members and Friends of the Society of The Second Church in Boston,— I have the honor, in behalf of its lay members, to welcome you cordially to participate in the glad and thankful celebration of this evening.

The distinctly religious and devotional exercises in commemoration of this two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of this Society have been most successfully carried out; and we are met this evening to close the series on the secular side of our history by considering the development and progress in governmental, political, educational, literary, and religious liberty which has marked these two and a half centuries, and toward which this ancient church has, in this vicinity at least, contributed in no small degree.

It has been given to but very few organizations in this country to be able to maintain a coherent and continuous existence through such a lengthy period as we may proudly claim; and, curiously, it is only such as have their foundation in the religious element in human nature that have been thus preserved.

Political and social combinations, however powerful, arise, culminate, change, and disappear; but that principle within all men which holds them

to their dependence upon God, which forces them to a recognition of the eternal verities of life and the possibility of the life to come, forms a bond of union which reasserts itself in generation after generation, with ever cohesive and effective force.

So when seven brethren in 1649 — the settlement of Boston not yet twenty years old, and their sister Church, the First, only seventeen years old — met, probably not in an "upper chamber" (there were not many, if any, "upper chambers" in those days), but in some convenient log hut, and united themselves in a covenant, and did "avouch the Lord to be our God and ourselves to be his people . . . to cleave to him and to one another in him," they laid the foundation of their church so simply, yet so deep and strong, that eight successive generations of men have builded and rested thereon, undismayed by vicissitudes, uncorrupted by prosperity.

Men in those days gathered around the church as the central focal point, lavished their labor on the construction of its edifice, defended it with their guns from hostile, savage attack, builded their homes near it, and found in its worship almost their only relief and recreation from the hard, continuous struggle of their daily lives. Their minister was to them the oracle of God. He was their counsellor, instructor, guide, and leader.

It was in a century of immense upheaval and unrest that this little society was born. That year, 1649, had just witnessed the beheading of Charles I. His son Charles II. was in exile, and

the redoubtable Cromwell was rapidly paving the way by his victories for the short-lived Commonwealth of England. During the first half-century of the existence of The Second Church the colonies of New England, and especially that of Massachusetts, were subjected to constant restrictions and encroachments upon their chartered rights, met by the colonists with persistent though often unavailing opposition. Finally, in 1683, Edward Randolph, a bitter enemy, was sent by the king to demand of Massachusetts a surrender of its charter, and to enforce obedience if compliance was denied.

Then The Second Church, in the person of Increase Mather, its pastor, and one doubtless of the bravest,—if not the bravest,—clearest-headed, ablest men in the colony, came to the front; and, during the five years of oppression and tyranny which followed, he was the leading spirit in stimulating and encouraging the people to protest, appeal, and resistance, until in 1688 he was sent to England bearing the address of the “churches,” mind you, not of the “Good Government Clubs,” the “Citizens’ Reform Associations,” or any other such second-rate substitutes of modern times, but of all the “churches,” of which our neighbor, now known as the “Old South,” was by that time one, to “solicit” at the foot of the throne the royal “clemency and protection.” How successful he was in this mission the history of the time and of Massachusetts to this day bears abundant evidence.

Again during the war of the Revolution The Second Church, led by another of its pastors,

John Lathrop, was so prominent in fomenting resistance to British authority that General Howe dubbed it a "nest of traitors," and permitted its meeting-house, the "Old North," to be torn down.

Coming down to our own times, we find Frederic W. Lincoln, who for sixty years served this church and congregation in various official capacities, while War Mayor of Boston, in the dark and trying years of the Rebellion, enforcing order, stimulating the patriotism of the citizens, quenching the draft riots as they were quenched in no other city of the Union, and steadying and upholding by counsel and assistance not only Governor Andrew, but even President Lincoln himself.

But it is not my province to enlarge upon any of the themes which are to be presented to you this evening. So much only I feel authorized to say, to explain that, when the influence of The Second Church in America, in government, is named, we make no idle boast.

And here we are called to meet the first disappointment which in any way mars the hitherto triumphant success of our celebration. His Excellency the Governor and the honored President of Harvard University, both of whom take a great interest in this occasion and promised to be present, are at the last moment detained by illness in their respective homes. Governor Wolcott's father was many years a member of this Society, and a member of its Standing Committee; and the son remembers still with affection and interest his con-

nection with the services of the Church. Twice a day on Sunday was then the rule. Are there many of these young men, from whom a possible future governor may be taken, ready to cheerfully assume such duty now? It is to his Excellency, as to us, a source of great regret that he cannot be in his place with us this evening.

This same great pastor of ours, Increase Mather, found time amid his other occupations to be for sixteen years the President of Harvard College. It has been wittily said of him "that, when not busy caring for his church or shaping the politics of the colony, he would step over to Cambridge and take charge of Harvard College."

The presence this evening of Dr. Eliot, who stands conspicuously to-day as the exponent of progressive educational movement, not only in Massachusetts, but in the whole country, would have brought in close touch again these venerable institutions whose proud records seem to have a common starting-point.

But, if we are deprived of the pleasure we anticipated from the addresses of these gentlemen, the rest of our programme will be undisturbed, and a brilliant part of it will be Mendelssohn's "Hymn of Praise," one of the magnificent musical creations not often heard. Under the lead of our accomplished Musical Director, with his excellent choir and brilliant instrumental and vocal assistants, we shall listen to a rendering of this work which may make us almost think it would have been enough to have the joy of our hearts expressed only by these glorious symphonies and songs.

But we have closer ties with Harvard College than merely to have furnished it with a President. Samuel Mather, our first minister, was a tutor and the first "Fellow of the College"; Increase Mather received its first degree of Doctor of Divinity; John Lathrop was for nearly forty years a member of its Corporation; Henry Ware, Jr., was one of its professors; and Emerson received his training at its Divinity School. So, when we would speak of the influence of The Second Church upon the literature of the two and one-half centuries of its existence, we turn naturally to our "foster sister," I may almost call her; and she responds to-night in the presence of Professor Francis G. Peabody, D.D., whom I now have the honor to present to you.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SECOND CHURCH ON AMERICAN LIT- ERATURE.

BY REV. FRANCIS G. PEABODY, D.D.

ONE of the most striking coincidences which this occasion recalls is found in the relation of The Second Church in Boston to the history of American literature. If we divide the two hundred and fifty years which we now commemorate into two periods, and distinguish the New England of colonial days from the New England of the modern age, we are led at once to recall two names which represent by pre-eminence the literary life of

these two periods; and both of these names are those of ministers of this venerable church. Cotton Mather was the incarnation of the spirit of Puritanism,—of its strenuous and self-searching conscience, of its prodigious theological activity, of its theocratic view of government, and of its credulous literalism. Emerson was the prophet of the modern American spirit,—of its buoyant idealism, its indifference to tradition, its sense of destiny, its confident optimism, its touch of humor, and its freedom in the truth. If one would interpret that strange phase of intellectual progress which is represented by New England in the first half of the eighteenth century, with its mingling of great learning and great credulity, of deep humility and vast self-confidence, of dominating ecclesiasticism and awakening democracy, he must study it in the voluminous writings of Cotton Mather. If one would know how the character of modern American life was developed in the first half of the present century, how it happened that cheerfulness, courage, candor, self-confidence, and hopefulness, came to be so inwrought among our national instincts, he will find these traits expressed in their most alluring form in the writings of Emerson.

What an extraordinary contrast, both of literary achievement and of personal character, is presented to us in these two pastors of The Second Church! Mather was turbulent and combative, a perplexing, oscillating, often grotesque character. Emerson was singularly self-contained and incapable of controversy, consistent in character, and restrained and


studied in his literary art. For no less than forty-four years Mather was minister of this church, and was concerned throughout that period with every political, social, and theological issue about him. In less than three years Emerson found it necessary to his peace of mind to withdraw from your ministry into the secluded concentration of his reflective life. Mather published no less than three hundred and eighty-six works, dealing in the most discursive fashion with every variety of human interest; and, not content with this enormous production of printed works, he labored for twenty years on a vast and unpublished commentary of Scripture, and sighed for yet other worlds to conquer. "Is there no possibility for me," he writes in his diary, "to find ye time that I may contrive a system of the sciences, wherein they shall be saved from vanity and corruption?" The complete writings of Emerson, on the other hand, might be included in the dimensions of a single work of his versatile predecessor. He left but a few score of essays, addresses, and poems, reiterating in ever-recurring and yet ever-varying expression, like the suggestion of a fundamental musical *motif*, his tranquil interpretation of an ideal world. Mather, in his relation to social reform, was aggressive, self-confident, and omniscient. He fulminated against slavery, pleaded for peace, discoursed on temperance, encouraged Christian missions, advocated inoculation, accepted the Newtonian astronomy, and set aside one day in each week to ask himself, "What special subjects of affliction or objects of

compassion may I take under my practical care, and what shall I do for them?" Emerson's attitude toward social reform was tranquil and dispassionate. He was for the most part silent in meetings, and his voice, as the prophet wrote of the Messiah, "was not heard in the street"; but, when the thoughtful student of the present day looks for the justification of his social hope, he lifts up his eyes to the calm teaching of Emerson, as to the hills from whence cometh his help. "He who would help himself and others," said Emerson, as if thinking of the impetuous and domineering philanthropy of Mather, "should not be a subject of irregularity and interrupted impulses of virtue, but a continent, persisting, unmovable person, . . . men who have in the gravity of their nature a quality like that of the fly-wheel in a mill. . . . It is better that joy should be spread over all the day in the form of strength than that it should be concentrated into ecstasies full of danger and followed by reaction."

Here are the polar opposites of personality; Mather with his self-accusing, self-examining doubts, his quick indignations and fiery retorts, Emerson with his unclouded calm amid the misrepresentations of the Pharisees, as though he had heard the great word, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Mather, in his personal appearance, was full-robed, full-wigged, full-lipped, with heavy chin, as one combating the spirits of flesh and sense: Emerson was frail and spare, with searching eyes and gentle mien, as

though he needed no deliverance from any burden of the flesh to wear the spiritual body of the resurrection. Mather's interior life is a constant drama of temptation and inconsistency. He watches himself in thought and deed, and fines himself for any lapse from virtue. For days he withdraws into meditative ecstasy, and renounces all the vanities and evil courses of the world, only to be led again into irritability or envy or scorn.

I heard one of our young athletes once describe the special qualities essential to success in the modern science of football. The youth, he said, who would distinguish himself in the position of a "centre rush" must be possessed by a high quality of patience; that is to say, this philosopher of athletics went on, the "centre rush" must watch and wait for the opportunity, which will soon be given him, to "slug" his opponent. Cotton Mather was qualified for this position in literary athletics. He restrained and humiliated his soul for brief intervals, only to smite with renewed vigor the evil or the evil-doer which for the moment confronted him. With entire justice he wrote of himself in one of his moments of self-abasement: "In my remarks on the folly and baseness continually expressed by our absurd and wicked people, I do not always preserve that meekness of wisdom which would adorn the doctrine of God, my Saviour. I will ask wisdom of God for the cure of this distemper." Emerson, on the other hand, as one of his biographers remarks, has little to say "of the horrid burden and impediment on the soul which



the churches call sin." His personal life seems swept by no disturbing passion. His experience flows with the even movement of a full, deep stream. When he preaches, it is as one who impresses chiefly "the reality of religion" with "an indefinite charm of simplicity and wisdom." When he withdraws from his ministry, it is with no stormy scene or wrestling of spirit, but with entire serenity and unruffled good-will. "Every man," he writes, "hath his own use." "I cannot give you," he says again, "one of the arguments you earnestly hint at; for I do not know what arguments mean in reference to an expression of thought." It is difficult to imagine what Cotton Mather could have said to a person who made such a reply. To attack such an unresisting medium would be as if one should assail the atmosphere, only to find it tranquilly flowing back with perfect elasticity, and inviting one to breathe it anew.

So stand these two opposite types of literary distinction in the history of The Second Church in Boston. It is as if the past and the present stood face to face. It is impossible to imagine a reversion of literature or theology to the type of Cotton Mather. It is almost equally impossible to imagine any future evolution of literature or theology which shall carry us far from the illuminating aphorisms and the comprehensive theism of Emerson. Cotton Mather was, as one of his most observing biographers has remarked, a Puritan priest who was unaware of the fact that "Protestantism can have no priesthood." Emerson, on the other hand, was re-

pelled by even that vestige of sacerdotalism which he discovered in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and gave himself wholly to the part of a prophet of the Eternal.

Yet what strange affinities appear in these remote and contrasted types! Both of these men, in their literary achievements, were distinguished by originality, candor, and courage.

Cotton Mather was in many ways as sympathetic toward unfamiliar and even unpopular thought as Emerson. Precisely as Emerson's intellectual sympathy crossed the sea and found companionship among the German philosophers, so Mather, in what was probably the first contact of the American mind with Germany, corresponded with the German professor and philanthropist, Francke, and learned from him of what he called "the warmth from the fire of God which flames in the heart of Germany." With the same spirit in which students from Harvard University migrate to the University of Halle in pursuit of the higher learning, Cotton Mather two hundred years ago desired to import the higher scholarship of his time to our seat of learning. "I will make a present," he wrote, "into our poor colledge of certain books that are of great improvement and influence in the famous Frederician University, and of a tendency to correct the present wretched method of education here." Even the literary style of the two men, though as different as diffusiveness and artificiality are from compactness and precision, show a kinship in originality, independence, and self-mastery. In both

there is complete subordination of form to thought, and perfect liberty from constraint and self-display. "There has been," says Cotton Mather, as if describing the writing of Emerson, "a deal of ado about a style, so much that I must offer you my sentiment upon it. There is a way of writing wherein . . . the writer pretends not to reading. Yet he could not have written as he does if he had not read very much in his time; and his composures are not only a cloth of gold, but also stuck with as many jewels as the gown of a Russian ambassador." And for himself he says: "I can truly say that I have studiously set aside that care of embellishing. I have dropped a world of what some would call ornaments which, while I was writing, offered themselves to my mind."

Both of these men, moreover, the priest and the prophet, were at one in their supreme devotion to the religious life. To Mather, it is true, religion was beset by dogmatic tests and Biblical literalism: to Emerson religion, as he wrote, was to come "full circle," to show the identity "of the law of gravitation with purity of heart," and to prove "Duty to be one thing with Science, with Beauty, and with Joy." Yet the prophet of religion has no fundamental controversy with its priest. "It is an office," Emerson himself says, "which is coeval with the world." "A man enamoured of this excellency becomes its priest or poet." Wherever, then, a true priest, in however mistaken forms, has truly served his altar, there the true prophet finds a work which, as the greatest of prophets said, he comes "not to

destroy, but to fulfil." It is Emerson, not Mather, who says of the Christian religion: "Two inestimable advantages Christianity has given us: first, the Sabbath, the jubilee of the whole world; and, secondly, the institution of preaching, . . . to cheer the waiting and fainting hearts of men with new hope and new revelation."

Finally, these two great names in the history of literature unite in indicating to us the natural limits and the legitimate place of the preacher in the modern world. For the universal genius of a Mather and his priestly authority in all spheres of life, the pulpit no longer offers an opportunity. Indeed, it may almost be said that there is no place in the modern world for omniscience and self-assertive learning, equally at home in history, science, reform, administration, and preaching. The specialization of modern life has set stern limits around each vocation; and few men are foolish enough to risk that saying which was spoken of the distinguished Whewell, that "science was his forte, and omniscience his foible." On the other hand, it is equally evident that the proper sphere for the great work of Emerson did not lie within the limits of the pastoral office, and that one of the chief services of The Second Church to the world was in giving to its young minister an easy escape from the preacher's calling. It was not merely a failure to modify a special form of worship which determined his change of career. He had at bottom a view of life and of duty which in any event would have soon led him to withdraw. His

sermons are marked by few of those great qualities which were so soon the fruit of his seclusion and independence. His transition to Concord was as if a caged bird had found the liberty of the woods, and had at once soared and sung.

Do such admissions, however, indicate that the office of the minister is either inadequate or superfluous or subordinate? On the contrary, they give to the ministry precisely that limitation and definition which establishes its place in the varied life of modern society. The pulpit is not the throne of a theological dictator like Mather, nor the medium of a spiritual philosophy like that of Emerson. It is no more an indictment of the preacher's function to observe that it was inconsistent with Emerson's solitude of soul than to observe that it is no longer possible to unite the duties of minister of The Second Church with the duties of the President of Harvard College, as Increase Mather united these duties for seventeen years, and as Cotton Mather much desired to unite them. Let us accept with gladness the special task which distinguishes the Christian ministry from these great representatives of the history of literature. There is a point in which the functions of the priest and of the prophet meet, and create a work less ambitious than these which we have traced, but not less essential for the common good. It is the work of the Christian pastor, the shepherd of the religious life, who, when he putteth forth his sheep, goeth before, and the sheep, knowing his voice, follow him.

We turn once more to the records of The Second

Church, and many such faithful, humble-minded pastors stand before us. Let us recall but one of them. Henry Ware, Jr., was, as compared with the massive learning of Mather or the spiritual insight of Emerson, an insignificant person in the history of literature. From the point of view, however, of The Second Church, he was nearer than either of his greater associates to the ideal of a Christian pastor. He was not an accomplished scholar or a thrilling preacher. His literary contributions are no longer read, and, with perhaps a single exception, were never widely read. If, however, the formative influences of the successive preachers of this church could be now identified among the saints in heaven, a full proportion of profound changes of human character in the history of this people would be traced to the simple, unaffected, sincere piety of the ministry of Henry Ware.

Let us not deceive ourselves as we trace the influences on literature which this church has been permitted to exert. These effects of a church are, after all, accidental and occasional. Sometimes the literary achievement may overshadow the preacher's office, as in the case of Mather. Sometimes it may repel from the preacher's office, as in the case of Emerson. Meantime, amid the world of literature there still remains an opportunity, more humble in its pretensions, more ephemeral in its reputation, but quite as creative and transforming in its effect, for the faithful pastor of a faithful flock,—the true priest, who finds in forms their spiritual symbolism, the true prophet, who preaches

truth which is eternally real to him. Among the great words of the scholars and the poets there is still a place for that word which is made flesh in the pastor's life, and which dwells among us, with its example and leadership, full of grace and truth.

In introducing Dr. Hale, Mr. Crosby said : —

And now it is my great pleasure to present to you one whom we all know and recognize as the Nestor of our faith, one who is an appreciative and charitable critic of the past, full of confidence in the present, and equally full of hope and trust in the great power and sweetness of the future, one who needs no introduction, Edward Everett Hale.

ADDRESS.

BY THE REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.

THE religious history of a church like this is written in the lives of the thousands on thousands whom it has trained and of those whom they have trained,—of hundreds of thousands.

And this means in their eternal lives.

Clearly enough, the visible expression of that history is made most distinctly for you and me, in the lives and the work of the official servants of such a church,—of the men who have preached in its pulpit, have counselled its members and been counselled by them. The lives and work of men

who have christened their children, and have seen them grow up into men and women, are an exponent of what was the quality and intensity of the Christianity of their time. It is one of the simple miracles of our Congregational order that a body of God-loving and intelligent people do choose from men like themselves an official servant, who is at once teacher and learner, helper and helped, one sent and one sending. He is leader and led. They choose him because they think he is near to God, and can help them see God and hear him. They ask him to do so, and they help him to do so. He teaches them, and they teach him. Like master, like man; like preacher, like hearer. The congregation makes the man, in a thousand subtle agencies, as the man by a thousand makes the congregation.

The history of this church presents several lives to us of such men, who have filled notable places in the larger history of the world. It records many other names of preachers, of whom, as the Book of Ecclesiasticus would say, there is no memorial, but of whom, all the same, the work was solid, so that they need no memorial. I will not try—what would be a pleasant thing to do—to recall from forgetfulness some of these names. There is no dishonorable name on the long record, though there are forgotten names. But I can and will say something, first, of the lives of the Mathers in the first century of your history, and then of the lives of two men in this century who are not forgotten and cannot be.

Increase Mather and Cotton Mather, the father and the son, were the ministers of this church for more than two generations. In that period Boston was wholly changed. At the beginning here was a little village, of perhaps five thousand people, unknown to the world. At the end of it the commerce of Boston was larger than that of Scotland and Ireland combined, and her dealings were with almost every port in Europe. The Mathers and their people were doing their best, in all this time, to infuse a Divine Life into such human affairs. I could easily spend the evening in briefly describing thousands of forms of generous activity in which they led and pushed, coaxed and goaded Boston into a life ideal, and not material,—life to the glory of God, and not the glory of Mammon or Baal or Dagon.

In more than a thousand of such efforts, one of the Mathers made a horrible mistake, which is always remembered against him, the younger of the two. But then and there he was acting from a noble motive, and even that Salem witchcraft misery was an effort to carry forward the "will of God" as he supposed God's will to be.

Simply,—and this is all-important,—the Mathers, father and son, meant that God should rule this world, the devil should not, and that man should not, except by God's order. They really meant that the people around them should live to God's glory, and not for their own petty profit or pelf. In their mistakes and in their successes they stand thus for the genuine Puritan theory that

religion must not be parted from daily life. God's glory first, God's glory second, God's glory all the time.

This means, in our language, Public Spirit. It means public spirit as distinct from private comfort or private wealth. It means God's will in the whole of the community,—at the town dock, in the public schools, in the nursery, on Cornhill, or on the Common. It means this in contrast with what is meant by a "religious administration" which is conducted by companies of priests who keep outside the world and occupy themselves with trumpets and bells and incense and processions and altar covers and other ordinances of service. It means a church of the people, carried on by the people and carried on for the people.

Of all this you can find no better types than the two Mathers. The subjects of their sermons are what we should call pre-eminently secular; that is, they are subjects of the time when they are spoken. Earthquakes, murders, piracy, schools, government, charters, General Courts,—whatever in later times the daily press discusses, these men discuss in The Second Church and at the Thursday Lecture.

In the course of such work for Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, they fell foul, alas! of the Salem witchcraft. They did not create it, but it found them. The father, Increase Mather, opposed the madness of the affair with all his might. But Cotton Mather, the son, held, alas! a brief for the other side. He was now only thirty

years old. As a young man, he had years before written a book on "Invisible Wonders." It is not a whit more absurd than the absurd books which absurd people read and write to-day. In that book he had granted the existence of people possessed by evil spirits, just as similar writers do to-day, just as the Bible does. When the Salem prosecutions came on, he would not and did not disdain his earlier words. That devilish pride of consistency held him to what had been written; and so he is charged to-day, in history, with bringing on the catastrophe. Appleton's Cyclopædia says, coolly, the prosecutions were abetted and mainly carried on by Cotton Mather; and afterward, when our poor old Judge Sewall confessed in penance his shame and error, Cotton Mather—yes, for thirty years more of life—would not own that he was wrong.

This shows cowardice, it shows weakness, it shows the accursed danger of books, it shows personal narrowness. But it is hard to call it intentional wickedness. And it does show also what I called the Puritan determination, that God shall rule, his will shall be done—*shall*—on earth as in heaven. Alas that they construed his will so badly!

Now we must not say that it was right for Cotton Mather to use the pulpit for temperance, for the slaves, for suppressing street profanity, for health, for education, for inoculation, and then turn and say that he ought not to have interfered in the witchcraft trials. All we can say is that he ought to

have judged right in such matters, and that he did judge wrong.

For which, perhaps, I ought not to ask you to forgive him. *We* know so much, and it is so certain that *we* are always right, that *we* find it hard to forgive him that he was in this case wholly wrong.

But we will remember that for the nearly forty years of his ministry he was working against slavery, against intemperance, for the schools, against the devil, and that he was trying—in a stupid way, if you please—to make others do so. He forced inoculation upon Boston, with the help of Boylston, when half the medical profession and the most of the town were against him!

He has been judged before now, and the verdicts are on record. We cannot change them if we would. Certainly, of the high award of that Infinite Tribunal where justice and mercy always meet together,—the tribunal which assigned to him long ago his duties and his place in larger worlds than this,—I can say nothing. No! I have not enough, thank God, of the impiety of the theologians.

But on that other estimate which mankind should place on him, I have sometimes pondered. I have fancied what might happen if we had now a permanent tribunal of great statesmen, great jurists, great men, who, after a century and a half, might have the duty of revising the somewhat ephemeral judgments of our lower courts. May we imagine, perhaps, such a court—James Martineau, Benjamin Harrison, and the Baron de Staal—intrusted yes-

terday with such a revision of the Mather verdicts? May I imagine the counsel for the poor man there with his brief, and the chief justice questioning him?

"What do you say, sir, about this miserable witchcraft business?" "Oh! we say as little as we can, may it please the court. We say that, when he was almost a boy, he had abridged the science of the time, which was all wrong. We say that then he had not courage enough nor sense enough to oppose the science of his day. But we find no wilful selfishness nor moral obliquity in that stupidity. We admit ignorance and stupidity."

"Note that, Mr. Clerk. Ignorance and stupidity are admitted."

"Yes, my lord, ignorance, obstinacy, and stupidity. But in asking for a revision of the world's judgment, if the court please, we offer this little memorandum of Benjamin Franklin's.

"Oh, Ben Franklin! There was integrity and courage, backward sense and forward sense. What does Franklin say? Read the note, Mr. Clerk, if it is not too long."

And the clerk reads: "Benjamin Franklin to Samuel Mather. There was a book of your father's, 'Essays to do Good,' which I read in boyhood.* If I have been, as you seem to think, a useful citizen, the public owes the advantage of it to that book."

"Does Ben Franklin say that? Do you note that, gentlemen,—all the use that he has been to this

* Passy, May 12, 1784.

world,—all of it? That is a great deal. All this electrical science born from Franklin's discoveries, all this practical education suggested by Franklin's benevolence, all these public libraries, fostered even in their infancy by him, all these devices for human comfort, all these refuges for orphans, these schools and colleges for men, and, above all, peace between England and America, the statesmanship of that great treaty which made friends of the two empires which should never be enemies,—all this work, which makes Franklin Franklin, all this is due to one book of this poor criminal, Cotton Mather.

"Gentlemen, really, I think, we must not be too hard on the conservative obstinacy in youth of a badly taught young man."

The simple truth is, if anybody cares, that the witchcraft horrors sprang from the folly and madness of the theory then held as to written Scripture,—the theory in which Cotton Mather had been bred, "A witch shall surely die." Those are the words in this Bible. If such words are the present voice of the present God,—and Cotton Mather had been taught that they were, and believed they were,—why, he was compelled, and the Danvers judges were compelled, to follow,—fated to the horrid plunge they made with him.

Now it is not hard to see that the memory of an influence so horrible did its blessed work in a hundred years. That fatal error wrought out the truth, which The Second Church of later times has done its share in proclaiming since, that the whole word

of God cannot be carved in stone,—no, nor chained upon paper. Remember that “God made known his *ways* unto Moses,” not his words,—“his *acts* unto the children of Israel.” The word is nearer. The word is *very* nigh thee,—in thy heart and in thy mouth.

Yes, the letter killeth. The letter of Moses killed those fifty witches at Salem. But the Spirit giveth Life; and the Spirit gives us at last such men in our pulpit as Henry Ware, as Waldo Emerson.

Only one hundred and one years after the Salem witchcraft Henry Ware was born. From the hills of his birthplace, Hingham, you can see the blue line of Salem, five-and-twenty miles across the bay. One century,—enough to make the difference between the Salem of the witchcraft and the Salem of Bentley and Lowell and Cabot, the men of the India trade and of the constitution of Massachusetts. There were men at Ware’s christening who had heard Cotton Mather preach, I suppose.

And the difference—morally, spiritually, yes, and physically and socially—is like the difference between the planet Mars and the planet Terra, if that be the name they give us in Mars.

The religion taught and preached in that century by such men as Cotton Mather and his successors, by the two Eliots at the North End, by Jonathan Mayhew at the West Church, by Oliver Everett in the New South, and by Charles Chauncy at the First Church, is a sort of religion which from such men as Cotton and Mayo and Increase and Cotton Mather, evolves such men in less than three gener-

ations as Henry Ware and Ralph Waldo Emerson. For Ware and Emerson both grew up in these conditions of the Puritan religion of the Bay.

In their time, as I happen to know, the world tried to think that these two prophets were far apart.

In truth, as we know, they were both exponents of the central gospel of all religion,—“Where ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of God is at hand.”

“*God is here. God is now.*” It is the religion of Pope Pius on the Seven Hills. It is the religion of the miner who is kneeling by his child’s bedside in the Montana hills to-night. The centre of all religion, the only religion worth the words it speaks, the religion of our own Unitarian Church, which is “the Church of the Holy Spirit.”

Yet with these ears I have heard Henry Ware discuss that puzzle of the definition of *Person*,—what Person is and what it is not,—which seems at once such a riddle and such a fascination to men as young as he was. And I suppose that *the hearers* supposed that *he* supposed that he was in antagonism to Waldo Emerson; and yet it is certain that at that same moment Emerson was saying some word which was making more clear to some dazed, puzzled child of God that God is here, that God is now, that he and God are one, if he will.

Personal religion! That I also partake of the divine nature, that God is with us,—Emanuel. Not God with him, not God with one prophet or two; but that, if *we* seek him, surely *we* shall find him, if *we* seek for him with all *our* hearts. Here is the religion

of Emerson, the religion of the Wares, the religion of Channing as of Martineau, of Swedenborg, as of Whitefield and Wesley, and George Fox and Jacob Boehme, the religion of Owen Feltham and De Sales and Saint Francis, the religion of every mother who ever taught her boy to say "Our Father," of every child who lisped the word so taught him,—the religion for which the Saviour died, for which Paul was beheaded and Peter crucified, the religion in which David sang and Isaiah spoke, the religion in which God said, "I am," to Moses, and the whole world replied, "Thou art."

Of all prophets speaking the English language in our time, it has been given to Ralph Waldo Emerson, the minister of the Second Church, to make this proclamation with most persuasive power, "The reign of God is here," the kingdom of God is at hand.

In that miner's camp in Montana the well-worn volume of the "Essays" lies behind the powder-horn. In the cupboard of the starving student in Paris, where, alas! there is no Bible, there is the essence of the Bible in these same "Essays." In the cabinet of the Emperor of Russia lies the translation of Emerson. And under the shadow of the mainsail, in the heat of the summer sun, as at this moment your cousin rounds Cape Horn, he is at this moment reading his Emerson. Here are lines which go out to all times. Here is the word which goes to the end of the world.

Blessed be the church, and honored, whose pulpit is proud to echo the Eternal Voice, even as it was

spoken by such men. Thanks to the God who has led it out from the worship of stones or of the carving upon stones, from any idolatry of any letter, into the fulness of life, into the very freedom of Christ himself. The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth Life; and, for the future, prayers and hopes. How blessed a thing this is, that we should be called "the children of God"!

After the chorus following Dr. Hale's speech, Mr. Crosby asked the congregation to join in the national hymn, "America," in the spirit of enthusiasm and thankfulness that should mark those who felt the duty of their obligation to the generations whose labors, privations, and sacrifices had made possible the glorious America which we possess, and that the congregation should adopt a custom of the fathers, and rise and turn their faces to the choir.

A benediction was pronounced by Dr. Hale.

SERMON.

BY THE REV. THOMAS VAN NESS.

NOVEMBER 26, 1899.

Forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press forward toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God.—PHIL.

IF any man had a right to look back with pride and pleasure upon his past life, that man was Paul. As he sat there in his prison at Rome, writing letters to the various infant churches in Macedonia and Asia Minor, what more natural than to indulge in reminiscences, to tell of his wanderings, his imprisonment, his remarkable experiences on sea and land, or his audience with King Agrippa, with Festus? Surely, any one with such a record might well have been pardoned if he had written about himself and drawn from his personal career lessons of God's care and providence.

What I particularly like about Paul is that he does not boast, is not puffed up or carried off his feet, as we say to-day, by a sense of his own importance. He does not dwell on what he has accomplished; for every achievement is but a prelude to something better, higher, further off. Therefore, he has no time to talk of past deeds. As soon as a project is brought to a successful issue, Paul puts it out of his mind, "forgets it," as it were, so that he may bend all his energies to pressing forward

toward something else, and thus eventually win the prize of the high calling of God.

You see two boys at college. One impresses you as much brighter and quicker than the other, possessed of more native ability. Concerning him you predict great things, a brilliant future. Fifteen or twenty years pass, and you need to revise your judgment. The young man from whom you expected so much, it is true, leads an honorable life, but beyond that, little more can be said of him; while of the other you are forced to say that he is steadily growing in influence, and will undoubtedly make an indelible mark upon the world.

How does it happen that your judgment was so in error? Had the second youth any special faculty which you failed to note? No, the difference between the two young men was the difference between possessing vision and no vision. The one upon whom you counted was satisfied with the conventional standards, measured himself by those around him, by their acquisitions, did not care to become anything more. The other youth in early life had put before his mind an ideal, perhaps unattainable, but, nevertheless, a continual incentive to renewed exertion. Because of that ideal he was never quite satisfied to rest on what had been done, but, like the apostle, was ever reaching forth and pressing on,—in short, was developing and becoming more noble, strong, and influential.

“What position does he hold?” “To whom is she related?” “How much is he worth?” By



these questions and the answers which they elicit we try to fix the place of a man or a woman in society or the business world. If we really desire to know the relative standing of people, it would be much better to inquire concerning their ambitions and their aspirations. What are his desires? What his ideals? Has he a vision? Does he reach forward and press on toward some goal? If so, then of that particular person we can safely predict an ever expanding, never failing life.

Average abilities conscientiously used often become the most effective; for it is a fact which all history goes to prove that capacity grows out of desire, or, as Lowell puts it, in an exaggerated line,

“ Perhaps the longing to be so
Helps make the soul immortal.”

Yes, the desire, the longing, to be something has undoubtedly conferred earthly immortality on more than one whose name is now written on the deathless roll of fame.

For the last two weeks we have been standing in the blaze of glory which shines down from the pathway of our memorable past. As a church, we have a record, a history, which gives us, deservedly, the right to be proud and self-congratulatory; but now the question comes, What is to be our temper of mind toward that past and the achievements of our forefathers? Are we to be contented with the position attained, or does that past stimulate us to renewed effort? In other words, have we desires and ambitions or have we not? Is there some

vision continually beckoning us on and upward, such as the vision of our Puritan ancestors,—a vision of a regenerated earth, of a new commonwealth, of the coming of the kingdom of God?

On this first Sunday of a new church century it behooves us to ask this question, and to pause for its very serious consideration. A certain well-known official, who for the last three years has been much in the public eye, recently made a plea for what he calls the strenuous life,—the life of daring and doing. He is trying to awake the American youth to the fact that struggle, fight, work, are essential, not simply in order to achieve, but in order to exist at all, in order to keep from decay and death.

The strenuous life! But that is what Paul was preaching,—yes, and living. As he so clearly points out, all one's toil and work will come to naught if there is not in mind some definite goal.

A definite goal! This at once gives singleness of purpose. It reduces effort from a complex to a simple thing. You see many people pressing forward to-day, but in zigzag directions. Consequently, the result of their work is scattering, ineffective.

To keep this church in the future from dissipating its energy, it is needful for us to concentrate effort, to have a plan, a purpose, a mark toward which we shall move, as has the swimmer making for the shore or the runner in a race. At once this will give to all our thought and all our work a unity of effect, and amazingly increase our power.

So much settled, the question comes, In what direction shall we move? What shall *be* our ultimate goal?

What better than that which our Puritan ancestors put before themselves as the one thing worthy of accomplishment?

If there is an historical fact well settled to-day, it is the purpose which animated our Puritan forefathers, the reason why they left England and came to this bleak and desolate coast of New England. They came here, not as did the French Jesuits to Canada, because their hearts were aflame with a desire to save souls, nor like missionaries, because they had some special creed or doctrine which they wished to preach to every living creature on the face of the earth; but they came because they had a certain theory of government, a certain rule of conduct, a certain very definite idea of life. They were intent upon establishing here a Puritan commonwealth, "a Church without a bishop, a State without a king." To put it in a sentence, they wanted to establish here the kingdom of God.

It is foreign to the point, and a remark worthy only of a cynic, to say that they established more nearly the kingdom of the devil. I am not now talking of what they did or did not accomplish. I am simply trying to make clear what was their aim, their one great desire.

Can we put before *ourselves* a better, a more worthy object?

Suppose for the moment you agree with me that to try to establish here in New England, in Massa-

chusetts, in Boston, the kingdom of God, is an aim quite worthy enough for which to strive. See how that at once simplifies our future church policy.

Hereafter we can listen with respect and sympathy to far-off missionary appeals for help, to those who believe our chief duty is to spread the gospel in Japan, in the hills of India, in Hungary, among the Molokains of the Trans-Caucasus; but to one and all such appeals we can kindly, but firmly, return the answer: "This is not our direct work, not the especial thing for which we were founded. We wish you God-speed in your efforts; but we must not scatter our energies, cannot turn aside to do your particular work. Our duty is to reach forth and press onward toward our own special goal."

This, too, separates our pulpit from those given over to the promulgation of some particular creed, some particular doctrine, and, as a consequence, will keep us from theological controversy and ecclesiastical strife. "No," we can say to our more zealous denominational friends, "our chief work is not, as you think, to combat wrong doctrine, to show the exact difference between Orthodoxy and Unitarianism, to define the belief which each member must have, to point out the existing errors in Presbyterianism or Lutheranism. Speculation, philosophy, metaphysics in a way are implied in the very fact that we are a church; but, as a church, we were not founded to preach some certain theory of the universe. If we did, then that theory in time might pass away, as did the theory of the universe preached by Cotton

Mather. Or, if we maintained some particular type of metaphysics, then that, too, in time would become obsolete, as have the metaphysical systems of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. No, The Second Church was founded, as its original covenant plainly states, because its incorporators desired God to dwell among them and to acknowledge them as his people, and, further, so that God's kingdom and grace *might be advanced by them*.

Again, then, we can say, as did they: —

We desire God to dwell among us;

We pray that by the character of our lives he may own us as his people; and

We resolve that God's kingdom and grace *shall be advanced by us*.

Having now set before ourselves this original aim and object of our forefathers, having definitely in mind the task that is set us to do, let us each individually say, in the language of Paul, "Forgetting those things which are behind and reaching forward unto those things which are before, I press forward toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God." . . .

The practical member, right here, very naturally asks, "But in what way do you think The Second Church in Boston can best advance God's kingdom and grace?"

The question deserves a direct answer; but, before we attempt to answer it, let us look at one or two things connected with our late celebration.

Did you notice — but, of course, you must — how,

not by premeditated action, but by a sort of intuitive feeling, all the speakers singled out three epochs in the life of the church. Those three epochs are connected with the names of three ministers,—Increase Mather, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Henry Ware, Jr.

For what did those three men especially stand? Increase Mather was not as great a preacher as his son; Emerson was one of the poorest pastors; and Henry Ware, Jr., could not rank with Lathrop as a controversialist, nor, indeed, with those who came after him as a public speaker. Why, then, by common consent, are these three ministers singled out from all the rest as representative? What did they say or do which the world does not wish to forget? for, if we can find that out, then we may be sure that those same characteristics will be needful in the future, and must be embodied in any policy of the church, if it is to be successful.

I think you will agree once again with me, when I say that Increase Mather is not remembered to-day for his preaching,—for much of it was rubbish; nor is he remembered by his books and literary productions,—for those books are consigned to the upper shelf and never read. But he *is* remembered with respect and admiration because of his courage, of that highest kind of courage,—*moral* courage.

Let any one of you put yourself in his place, and ask what, under the same circumstances, you would have done in those momentous days when the independence of the Massachusetts Colony hung in

the balance, and you will realize more vividly the amount of soul bravery it required on Mather's part to risk his position, his influence with the ruling powers, his very life, as he did, for the civic formation of his native town.

Then come to Emerson. What was the distinct note in his preaching?

You had your answer first in the address given last Sunday by the young man who represented the National Religious Union, and afterward, on Monday, in the closing remarks of Edward Everett Hale.

Mr. Eaton said, and said truly, that through Emerson he came to know himself. In that essay on Self-reliance are these words: "Never imitate: abide in the simple and noble regions of your life. Obey your heart, and you shall reproduce the fore world again."

In picking up my own volume of Essays, I find that back in 1879, just twenty years ago, I came across that very passage; and it revolutionized my whole inner life, so that since then I have never consciously imitated any one in speech, thought, action, or way of looking at events. I make this personal confession simply as added testimony. Yes, Emerson helps to give us confidence in ourselves and our own thoughts,—makes us appreciate how noble and God-like we are. His is distinctly a message of cheer. When you have once read his essay on Compensation, you feel from then on, no matter what be taken, no matter what your losses, that you are not utterly bereft; for some-

thing else of equal virtue and profit has been slipped into the vacant place, and that you may still enjoy.

Cheer and hope! I think those two words characterize the message of Emerson,—cheer and hope. Do you think the time will ever come when men and women will not want to be cheered and inspired to greater things? or when they will not want to be lifted up above the humdrum common level by a great hope, which whispers to them of their immortality and kinship with the Eternal God?

And what of Henry Ware, Jr.? What especially distinguished his pastorate from the others? We are told that during the time he was minister The Second Church knew a distinct revival, and attained as great strength as during the best period of the Mathers. How was this revival brought about? I think I am able to say, after reading his memoirs given me by that dear old parishioner, Mrs. Burdett, now some ninety-three years of age, who knew Mr. Ware very intimately.

I find, among other characterizations, this, which I believe correct: "Mr. Ware had an entire sympathy with and love of mankind under all circumstances and conditions, with all degrees of cultivation, and with every variety of moral character. This had much to do with his power of exercising influence over all classes of men." "Mr. Ware," says another writer, "was the embodiment of sympathy. When with him, all sorts and conditions of men forgot their differences, and were made one in a common fellowship."

There you have the secret in those last words. Mr. Ware was able to establish a common fellowship. In a period when social differences were accentuated, at a time when class distinctions divided men into various little cliques, Mr. Ware broke down such arbitrary differences, and through Christian fellowship united all his people on the one great plane of human brotherhood.

Courage, cheer, fellowship,—for these three things do we especially remember Mather, Emerson, and Ware. *These* are the characteristics which they contributed to the stream of Second Church life, and these are the things which must still be embodied in the teachings and articles of The Second Church if it desires to go successfully forward into the twentieth century.

Now we are ready to answer the question of the practical man who asks in what way we think this church can best advance God's kingdom and grace here in Boston.

First, we should say, in not limiting our interests or subjects of consideration to those things which simply affect our own personal life and prosperity, but in being interested in every civic matter which makes for a healthy municipality. This pulpit, the members of this church, must be awake to the duties of *citizenship*. As a church, we must work for good government, for an honest administration, for a clean and intelligent democracy. This means an interest in our public schools, in our libraries and art galleries, in our highways and common parks, in our water supply and gas supply, in our

philanthropic and charitable institutions. Not now, as when Increase Mather lived, does a king threaten our liberties; but none the less are those liberties in peril from political wire-pullers and conscienceless corporations. Read how almost impossible it is for the City of New York to once again get back under its own control the Battery Park, and you will understand what danger there is lurking on every side to destroy the people's rights.

Again, we wish to raise up laymen and ministers with the courage of their convictions, who, if needs be, are willing to stand in the legislative hall or in the council chamber, and boldly say, as did Increase Mather, when an iniquitous measure is likely to be passed, "I hope there is not a freeman in Boston that can be guilty of such a thing."

This pulpit in the coming years, if it follow in the true line of progress, must be dedicated to affirmations, not negations. As in Emerson's day, it must affirm that God is, that he is here and now in our souls, that we are God's sons and daughters, and have within ourselves infinite possibilities. The gospel sounding forth from Sunday to Sunday needs to be shot through with hope and cheer,—an immortal hope, a cheer because of what we can do, what we are, and what we are to become. Because of the message thus delivered, every man should leave this building with a more buoyant step than when he entered, and with a higher opinion of his own capabilities,—yes, with a higher, a loftier conception of his fellow-man and of the God-like qualities of his nature.

Lastly, because of the feeling of fellowship that is thus engendered, every man and every woman entering our doors should feel that here earthly distinctions of station, wealth, culture, and official position are ignored,—that for a short hour, at least, we meet on an equal footing.

Social fellowship, my friends, is what we are required to emphasize. A republican form of government cannot long outlast the dying out of the democratic spirit. Patriotism, therefore, as well as religion, bids us lay aside all earthly differences, and as a church unite in a common brotherhood where the sorrows of each are the sorrows of all, and where the joy of each may be shared by all.

What more need I say, except to tell you that I believe you will thus reach forward and press on toward the establishment of God's kingdom in this city, and that you will all help to make The Second Church a centre of courage and cheer, a place filled with the sunshine of hope and Christian fellowship. Last week taught me how fully you are already infused with the spirit of co-operation and kindly feeling. I say it augurs well for the future of a church when something like three hundred people can be brought together,—singers, ushers, speakers, patronesses, musicians, helpers, and assistants, all harmoniously uniting in a five days' celebration and carrying out the various exacting details without a single jar or feeling of rancor or jealousy. Such a voluntary blending of parts shows that our religion is something more than theory. It is exemplified in our every-day actions.

Will it be said that I have narrowed the channel of progress and limited to local bounds the work this church ought to do?

I grant that in certain directions I would so limit our efforts, but only because I am anxious that we gain in intensity and have singleness of aim. . . .

Here is a light-house keeper. A certain amount of oil is intrusted to his care. What shall he do? Divide it so that it may be enough for many little flickering lights, or keep it intact in his one lamp, and then, courageously mounting the steps of the tower, place his one lamp in the focus of the lens, so that its light may stream forth to illuminate the darkness of a treacherous coast.

To us has been intrusted this time-honored institution, this Second Church, which, like a tower of strength, stands forth in the community. What shall we do with our power, with our light, with the illuminating oil? Divide it or concentrate it?

Let us with Saint Paul say, "This one thing I do."

From our point of vantage we will flash forth our signals.

God's in the heavens.

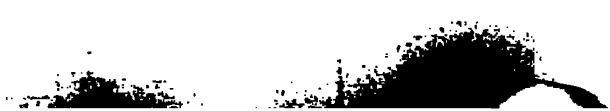
Man is his child.

There is a harbor of refuge.

Courage!

In time it may be reached.

Possibly some tired and disheartened mariner on the sea of life, seeing that signal, may take new courage. In the night of storm and darkness, in the time of trouble and sorrow, he may not know



whither he is drifting, and all faith in the goodness of things, in the heavenly harbor, may have died out; but just at the moment of his worst discouragement and despair, through the gloom and fog of his unbelief, there may stream forth our light of faith and cheer. That message will be understood. It will bring to his heart new hope, new determination. Because of our signals he, with others, will once again steer in the right direction and eventually reach the harbor of peace, where with the redeemed he shall know the joy of those who look upon the face of the Father and hear the words, He that overcometh shall inherit all things, and I will be his God and he shall be my son.

APPENDIX.

THE MATHER CHAIR, a picture of which forms the frontispiece to this volume, is believed to have belonged to Cotton Mather. It stood for many years in the Hanover Street Church, and, while not intentionally included in the bill of sale of the building, remained in the Church on the removal of the Society. It was subsequently bought back from the purchasers of the building by Mrs. Elizabeth Means and other Ladies of the Parish, and was restored to its proper place. It bears this inscription :—

THIS CHAIR BELONGED TO THE
SECOND CHURCH, BOSTON,
DURING THE MINISTRY OF THE
REV. COTTON MATHER, D.D.,
WHOSE PASTORATE ENDED
FEBRUARY 13, 1728.

The art decorations which the Society now possesses are here described, and the inscriptions thereon given :—

The mosaic, TRUTH, erected by the wife and daughter of Mr. John W. Leighton, who was born in Eliot, Me., February 26, 1825, and died in Brookline, October 6, 1897. A strong friend of the Church, and deeply interested in its welfare.

It is a glass mosaic, four by eight feet in size, and is a symbolic figure of TRUTH with sword, torch, and key. The tablet is set in a massive frame of bronze. This is

the first figure in Tiffany favrile glass mosaic erected in the New England States.

It is thus inscribed :—

THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE.
PRESENTED IN MEMORY OF
JOHN WILLIAM LEIGHTON
BY HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER.
ERECTED A.D. 1899.

The MINISTERS' WINDOW, a memorial of Mr. George Henry Eager, who was born in Northboro, Mass., November 18, 1833, and died in Boston, January 1, 1897. Mr. Eager was a highly respected citizen, business man, and friend, and warmly attached to The Second Church. For many years he was a faithful member of its Standing Committee. His interest in the church was strongly shown by his preparation and publication of an epitome of its history, which appeared in 1894.

The Inscription on the window is as follows :—

PROTEST OF INCREASE MATHER AGAINST THE
SURRENDER OF THE
COLONY CHARTER TO THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS
A.D. 1683—84.

John Mayo.	John Lathrop.
Increase Mather.	Henry Ware, Jr.
Cotton Mather.	Ralph Waldo Emerson.
Joshua Gee.	Chandler Robbins.
Samuel Mather.	Robert Laird Collier.
Samuel Checkley.	Edward Augustus Horton.
	Thomas Van Ness.

ERECTED IN THE 250TH YEAR OF THE
FOUNDING OF THE SECOND CHURCH IN BOSTON,
TO COMMEMORATE ITS MINISTERS,
AND PRESENTED IN LOVING MEMORY OF
GEORGE HENRY EAGER
BY HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER, 1899.

In the window, Mather is shown standing, addressing the commissioners who are seated at the table. In the costumes a strong contrast is noticed between the rich dress of the Englishmen and the Puritan simplicity of the Colonists. The upper parts of the window are filled with a beautifully designed canopy, in which Gothic and Renaissance details are intermingled in the style of the intermediate period.

The WARREN WINDOW, commemorative of Mr. William Wilkins Warren, an honorable, upright merchant of Boston, a faithful member of The Second Church, a wise and generous benefactor of charitable organizations, a patron of art. He was born in West Cambridge, Mass., April 11, 1814, and died in Boston, January 23, 1890.

The window has for its subject on one side the story of St. Martin of Tours, dividing his garment with the naked youth; on the other, a figure of Dorcas with two of the orphans whom she cherished. The artist is Mr. Frederick Wilson of the Tiffany studios.

The window bears these words:—

ST. MARTIN.

HE THAT DOETH THE WILL OF GOD ABIDETH FOREVER.

DORCAS.

LOVE IS THE FULFILLING OF THE LAW.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF
WILLIAM WILKINS WARREN
WHO PASSED TO THE HIGHER LIFE
JANUARY 23, 1890.
ERECTED BY HIS WIFE.

The LINCOLN MURAL TABLET is severely, but beautifully classic in design, and is a pedestal upheld by two

Corinthian pillars. It is a memorial of the Hon. Frederic Walker Lincoln, and bears this inscription :—

IN MEMORIAM

FREDERIC WALKER LINCOLN

FEB. 27, 1817—SEPT. 13, 1898

A FAITHFUL MEMBER OF
THE SECOND CHURCH IN BOSTON.

SUPERINTENDENT OF SUNDAY SCHOOL
1846 TO 1876.

TREASURER OF THE CHURCH AND
CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE
1851 TO 1895.

DEACON 1883 TO 1898.

THIS TABLET IS ERECTED IN
LOVING REMEMBRANCE
BY HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN

He that followeth
After righteousness and mercy
Findeth life,
Righteousness, and honor.

The Leighton, Eager, Warren, and Lincoln memorials were designed and made by the Tiffany Art and Decorative Company, under the supervision of Mr. Edwin Stanton George.

The EMERSON BUST, made by Mr. Sidney Morse of Buffalo, N.Y., was given to The Second Church by the members of the Young People's Fraternity. It has been placed on a temporary support in the western transept, but at an early day will have an artistic pedestal, with an appropriate inscription.

In addition to the works of art which were dedicated on the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary it is fitting to mention the Tablet which was given to the

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY 195

Society, in 1891, by Mrs. Maria Louisa (Robbins) Davis, the daughter of the Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D., who was installed as Minister of The Second Church in 1833, resigned his pastorate in 1874, and died in 1882. The Tablet occupies a conspicuous place at the right of the pulpit, and is reproduced in photogravure in this book.

I know that
my
Redeemer liveth.

IN MEMORIAM

REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D.
1810-1882

THE FAITHFUL CHRISTIAN MINISTER OF
THE SECOND CHURCH IN BOSTON FOR 41 YEARS
1833-1874

AND

MARY ELIZA FROTHINGHAM
WIFE OF
REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D.
1821-1870

Blessed are the dead which die in
the Lord; for they
rest from their labors, and their works
do follow them.
A.D. 1891.

On the occasion of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary, the following paintings were loaned to the Society by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and occupied prominent positions on the walls of the Church:—

Portrait of Increase Mather, who was born in Dorchester, June 21, 1639; Minister of this church, 1664-1723; died August 23, 1723. Painted by Van dek Sprjtt, 1688.

Portrait of William Welsted, born 1695; Minister of

the New Brick Church, 1727-53; died January 7, 1753. Painted by Copley.

Portrait of Joshua Gee, born in Boston, June 29, 1698; Colleague of Cotton Mather, 1723; Minister, 1728, till his death, May 23, 1748. Painted by Smibert.

Portrait of Mrs. Anna Gee, wife of the Rev. Joshua Gee. Painted by Smibert.

Portrait of His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of the Province of Massachusetts; born September 9, 1711; died June 3, 1780; an attendant of this Church. Painted by Truman, 1741.

Portrait of John Lathrop, born May 17, 1740; Minister of The Second Church 1768-1816; died January 4, 1816. Painted by Williams, 1808.

In addition, the Committee were indebted to the family of the Rev. Henry Ware, Junior, for a loan of the portrait of their father. He was born in Hingham, Mass., April 21, 1794; was Minister of The Second Church 1817-1830; and died at Framingham, Mass., September 22, 1843. Painted by Frothingham.

By the kindness of General W. W. Blackmar and of the Wardens of King's Chapel, the committee were able to display in front of the gallery of the Church a series of flags, namely:—that of the United States of the present day, together with the sea colors of New England in use as early as the end of the seventeenth century; the British Union Jack of 1707; the Pine Tree flag of New England; the Grand Union flag raised by Washington at the camp at Cambridge, January 1, 1776; other early flags of New England; and the flag of New England sent by King James II. with Governor Andros in 1686.



A STREET IN OLD BOSTON.

A HAPPY thought of the Ladies of The Second Church resulted in an entertainment (preliminary to the regular religious celebration), which, in its way, fitly illustrated and expressed the secular side of Boston — its customs, manners, and architecture — since its foundation in 1630, and elicited great interest as well as much applause from the general public.

This entertainment consisted in faithfully reproducing, in Copley Hall, many of the old buildings in Boston of the early Puritan, Provincial, and Revolutionary times, some of them famous in story and song, and all of them quaint beyond expression. In fact, the large Hall was transformed into a veritable street, its sides lined with the semblance of houses, each of which was believed to represent a certain distinct period or style of architecture.

In each building was an exhibit of colonial furniture, wares, and curiosities, with many interesting or useful articles which were offered for sale. The attendant ladies were dressed in a manner befitting the time in which they were supposed to be living. The various periods represented gave an opportunity for a variety of costumes, running all the way from the rich brocades of the stately dame, with powder, paint, and patches, to the quiet garb of the sedate Puritan maiden.

The old street in Boston was in charge of a Committee called the "Auxiliary Aid" (composed of the wives of the present and former members of the Auxiliary Committee of



gentlemen), ably seconded by the ladies whose names are given below in connection with the different buildings represented.

The musical entertainment was under the charge of Mrs. Charles H. Bond; and for the presentation of the minuet by her little protégés the Committee were indebted to the kindness and services of Mrs. William S. Butler.

The following buildings were represented in the historical festival:—

EARLY PURITAN PERIOD, 1649-1666.

THE WILLIAM BLACKSTONE HOUSE. This is believed to have been the first residential building in Boston, and was situated on Beacon Hill, not far from the junction of the present Chestnut and Walnut Streets.

Ladies in Charge.—Mrs. Frank W. Downer, Mrs. E. T. Pratt, assisted by Miss Gertrude S. Sands, Miss Gertrude D. Reuter, Miss Clara S. Hall, Miss Helen C. Pray, Miss Mildred Williams, Miss Ethel McKenny, Miss Irma Bradshaw, Miss Maud H. Hunt, Miss Helen Johnson, Miss Margaret Miller.

THE OLD NORTH MEETING-HOUSE.—No small part of the early history of Boston is connected with this ancient edifice. The first building was begun in 1649 in Clarke's Square, or, as it was later known, Frissell's Square and, for the past hundred years, North Square. It was occupied in 1650, burned in 1675, and replaced by the building represented in the Old Street in 1676. In all probability it was a fair copy of the ancient building.

It was provided with bell and clock. The bell was rung at five o'clock in the morning, at one o'clock (the hour for closing the market), and at nine o'clock in the evening. The town's

powder was stored here for a long time. From the very beginning this meeting-house was a stronghold of political liberty; for, as is well known, the Mathers — Increase and Cotton — preached from its pulpit, and their influence largely moulded the thought and customs of the early colony. It was also from this pulpit that Lathrop preached his memorable sermons in 1774. Attention was drawn to him and to his congregation by his patriotic utterance when, on a certain Sunday, he declared that "Should the British administration determine fully to execute the laws of which we complain, we have yet to fear the calamities of a *long civil war*."

Strong, frank, treasonable words, these; and it is not strange that General Howe gave willing assent to the desire of "certain evil-minded men of the king's party to pull down the old North Meeting-house." That was an end to the "nest," no doubt; but the traitorous hornets came back so stingingly that on the seventeenth day of March, 1776, General Howe himself with his royal army was quite glad to say good-by to Boston.

The Old North Meeting-house was never again rebuilt. The land on which it had stood was sold for £210 in 1786 to the minister, the Rev. John Lathrop, who built for himself a fine residence there. A block of brick houses now occupies the ancient site.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD, 1666-1692.

THE MAYO-MATHER HOUSE.— The first regular Minister of The Second Church was John Mayo, who was ordained in November of 1655. Although he held the office of Pastor for nearly twenty years, yet little is now known of his personality and work. The records of the Church give us one item, however, concerning his funeral, which in a few words illustrates,



unintentionally perhaps, something of the customs of former days. It is said, "The whole cost of the Rev. John Mayo's funeral was ten pounds four shillings." Of this amount nearly four pounds were spent for wine, and five pounds fifteen shillings for gloves. It is hardly likely that Mayo himself occupied the house which afterward in connection with Mather bore his name; nor is it probable that Increase Mather lived in this mansion, except, possibly, in the closing years of his life. After the disastrous fire of 1676, many excellent buildings were erected; and it seems reasonable to suppose that the Mayo-Mather house was put up in the latter part of the seventeenth century, when a better and more substantial type of architecture commenced to prevail.

Ladies in Charge.— Mrs. James N. North, Mrs. Otis H. Luke, Mrs. F. F. Raymond, Mrs. Frank Hervey, Miss Bessie North, Miss Blanche Ware, Miss Alice Meserve, Mrs. Otis Smith.

THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD, 1692-1775.

THE OLD FEATHER STORE, built by Thomas Stanbury in 1680, stood on the corner of North Street and Dock Square, fronting upon three sides. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was so close to tide-water that the prows of vessels moored in the dock would almost touch the building. The architectural style was quite common in the Netherlands and in the old trading towns of England. The upper stories projected some two feet over the lower story, giving a considerable increase of space to the upper chambers. The building was of wood, the frame being of hewn oak, and the outside walls of rough cement. In this cement there were imbedded bits of broken glass and fragments of junk bottles. The date, 1680, was placed upon the principal gable, on the westerly

front. From its peculiar shape the boys in the neighborhood called the building "The Old Cocked Hat," and by that name was it popularly known for years afterward.

Nearly every variety of trade was carried on in the building. The Simpsons kept here a feather store; though before that, according to Snow, "the leading apothecary shop of the town was at 'The Old Cocked Hat,'" and was kept by the Greenleaf family. The old feather store was demolished in the year 1860.

Ladies in Charge.—Mrs. D. H. Lane, Mrs. L. G. Burnham, Mrs. C. H. Bond, Mrs. E. B. Stillings, Mrs. Charles A. Gleason.

THE PETER FANEUIL HOUSE.—This house, a fine old stone mansion, stood on the Beacon Hill side (now Tremont Street), opposite the King's Chapel Burial Ground. The lot formed the south part of Governor Bellingham's estate. "The deep court yard," says Miss Quincy, "was ornamented by flowers and shrubs, and divided into an upper and lower platform by a high glacis, surrounded by a richly wrought iron railing. The edifice was of brick, painted white; and over the entrance door was a semicircular balcony." It is doubtful whether Miss Quincy is right in her statement that the house was of brick, as from papers in the Massachusetts archives we learn that it was spoken of as being built of stone.

The Faneuils were French Huguenots from La Rochelle. Peter Faneuil, the giver of the historic hall which bears his name, was born in 1700. He was the wealthiest Bostonian of his day. He lived in a style worthy of his position as a prince among merchants. He had five negroes to wait upon him, and "drove out in a coach with English horses." His cellar was filled with good wine, beer, Cheshire and Gloucester cheeses, and other tempting and palatable foods. He lived



only forty-two years, dying suddenly, in 1742, of dropsy. The Faneuil mansion was also the home of Governor Phipps.

Ladies in Charge.—Mrs. William M. Bunting, Mrs. Ralph Miles Kendall, Mrs. E. Bertram Newton, Mrs. Elmer A. Lord.

THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HOUSE.—The old house here represented was a quaint specimen of an order of buildings common in the Provincial period. Josiah Franklin, the father of Benjamin Franklin, was a native of England. He became a respectable soap boiler and tallow chandler in Boston. Benjamin was born on January 6, 1706. His early youth was spent in learning how to make tallow candles for his father; and “in his leisure moments,” we are told, “he was engaged in throwing rubbish into the mill-pond.” After his father’s business became distasteful to him, he entered his brother’s printing-office on Queen Street. In 1691 the town granted liberty to Josiah Franklin to erect a building near the South Meeting-house, and on this spot on Milk Street the renowned philosopher was said to have been born. Franklin himself, however, bore testimony to the fact that he was born on the corner of Union and Hanover Streets, where his father then carried on his business. It is doubtful whether or not the father of Benjamin Franklin removed from Milk Street previous to January 6, 1706, the date of the doctor’s birth.

Ladies in Charge.—Mrs. D. W. Ensign, Mrs. Arthur Chesterton, Miss Sarah King, Mrs. E. P. Wilcox, Mrs. C. P. Bonney, Mrs. J. P. Selinger, Miss Kraus.

REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD, 1775-1789.

THE GREEN DRAGON TAVERN.—The Green Dragon Tavern, perhaps the most famous hostelry in Massachusetts, was

one of the first substantial brick buildings erected in Boston. It was located on Union Street, not far from Hanover Street. A stone tablet on the present business block, 80-86 Union Street, marks its ancient site. It was probably built not far from the year 1680, and was used as an inn about 1695.

On St. George's Day, 1706, Governor Joseph Dudley, who had come to town guarded by the troops with their swords drawn, dined here in state, and then proceeded to the Town House.

In 1709 the birthday of Queen Anne was celebrated by a "treat" given here by the Council to the Governor. This entertainment cost the Honorable Councillors the sum of five shillings apiece.

Undoubtedly, if the secret history of the Revolution were written, it would show that its initiatory movements were largely planned within this Tavern. Paul Revere tells us that he was one of a Committee of Thirty organized to watch the movements of the British. "We held our meetings at the Green Dragon Tavern, and swore not to reveal our transactions to any except Hancock, Adams, Warren, Otis, and Church."

The "North End Caucus," having its headquarters at the Green Dragon, was most instrumental in the "tea plot." An old song of theirs ran as follows:—

"Rally, Mohawks! bring out your axes!
And tell King George we'll pay no taxes
 On his foreign tea.
His threats are vain: he need not think
To force our wives and girls to drink
 His vile Bohea.
Then rally, boys, and hasten on
To meet our chiefs at the Green Dragon."

Ladies in Charge.—Mrs. Thomas Van Ness, Mrs. Renton Whidden, Mrs. Quincy Kilby, Miss Helen Paine, Miss Anna Royce, Miss Peckham.

THE KING'S HEAD INN.—On the north corner of Fleet and Ship Streets, near Scarlet's Wharf, Major Thomas Savage had his house and garden in the early days of the colony. After his death, in 1682, the King's Head Inn was located here. It was burned in 1691, but rebuilt of wood, and continued a large and flourishing hostelry until the beginning of the Revolution, when it was converted into barracks for the marines, and then taken down for fuel.

Ladies in Charge.—Mrs. William H. Alline, Mrs. Homer V. Snow.

THE HOME OF GENERAL JOSEPH WARREN.—Dr. Joseph Warren, in the latter part of 1770, leased a house belonging to Joshua Green, which stood on Hanover Street, about opposite the head of Elm Street. The site is now occupied by the American House. Warren continued to live in Hanover Street until the time came when he gave his undivided attention to the preparation for the coming struggle with the mother country. As all know, he was one of the Revolutionary heroes killed at the battle of Bunker Hill, 1775. The Warren house may be considered a type of the residential architecture in the years just preceding and during the Revolutionary period.

Ladies in Charge.—Mrs. E. B. Kellogg, Mrs. E. P. Jones, Mrs. Viola Paine.

NEO-CLASSIC (OR EMPIRE PERIOD), 1789-1815.

TONTINE CRESCENT (Franklin Street).—The Tontine Crescent was the first attempt in Boston at building residences in blocks. The houses were arranged with skill and good taste, the long line of the crescent being broken in the centre by an archway thrown over an entering street, since called Arch Street, and the sky line being judiciously varied by the superior elevation of the centre building, the second story of which was used as the home of the Boston Library, now in Boylston Place. For many years the Massachusetts Historical Society occupied the upper story of this building.

Mr. Charles Bulfinch, the well-known architect, was the designer of the Crescent. The houses were of ample size, and were for half a century among the most desirable in Boston. The Tontine Crescent was, probably, begun somewhere in the year 1794. The growth of the city just at that time was not sufficient to warrant the erection of such expensive dwellings. Heavy mortgages, followed by forced sales, reduced Mr. Bulfinch almost to the verge of bankruptcy.

Ladies in Charge.—Mrs. E. A. Grozier, the Misses Delano, Miss Edith Brown, Miss Blanche Stevenson, Miss Alice Daniels, Clarence Miller, Miss Maria Clarke, Miss Fanny Johnson.

EARLY AMERICAN PERIOD, 1815-1859.

THE LAMB TAVERN.—The present Adams House stands on the ground formerly occupied by the Lamb Tavern, sometimes styled the "White Lamb." Colonel Doty kept at the sign of the Lamb in 1760, though there are records of the tavern's existence in 1746. The Lamb was an unpretending building

of two stories, but of good repute in Old Boston. In the early part of this century it was conducted successively by Laban Adams, for whom the house was named,—father of W. T. Adams, “Oliver Optic,”—and by A. S. Adams. The first stage to Providence, advertised July 20, 1767, put up at the sign of the Lamb.

Ladies in Charge.—Mrs. Hatherly Foster, Mrs. Eugene G. Ware, Mrs. Louis R. Lincoln, Mrs. George O. Wales, Mrs. C. A. Abbott, Miss Mabel Mawhinney.

On the evening of Wednesday, November 15, musical selections were offered by Miss Cutter’s orchestra and by Mr. Walter S. Hawkins, soloist. During the evening of Thursday Ye Old Towne Choir, composed of students of the New England Conservatory of Music, gave solos and quartettes, with instrumental selections by a stringed quartette. Mr. Clarence Miller acted as Town-crier. This was followed by a minuet dance by a group of children in the style and dress of the Revolutionary period, under the care of Mrs. William S. Butler, preceded by a recital of “Grandma’s Minuet,” by Miss Mabel Patten.

The dancers were Mabel Patten, Lillian Kaufman, Mabel Prince, Helen Kilmurry, Coy Prince, Fern Foster, Lillian Goldstein, Dora Levine. Miss Laura M. Hawkins acted as accompanist.

For the use of a grand pianoforte during the rehearsals for the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, and at the services themselves, the committee were indebted to Messrs. Chickering & Sons of Boston.

The general design and the details of construction of The Old Street in Boston were carried out by Lee L. Powers & Company of Boston.





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The Second Church in Boston :

Widener Library

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